

(RE)-REGULATING CARE: EMPLOYING FOREIGN CARERS FOR OLDER PERSONS IN TAIWAN

Yu-Hsien Chen
BN (Nursing), MN (Aged Care)

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Nursing
Faculty of Health
Queensland University of Technology

2013

Keywords

Aged care

Family carer

Family caregiver

Foreign carer

Foreign caregiver

Grounded theory

Social constructionism

Symbolic interactionism

Taiwan

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households. Foreign carers were introduced into Taiwan in 1992 to address the care needs of the older population. By 2012, over 200,000 foreign caregivers from Indonesia, Philippines, and Vietnam were providing care in households in Taiwan. There has been little research on the interactions between and experiences of family employers, foreign carers and older persons receiving care. The theoretical framework brought together symbolic interactionist concepts and the social constructionism of Berger and Luckmann. Data collection and analysis were informed by Charmaz's formulation of grounded theory. Two focus groups and 54 in-depth interviews with a total of 57 Indonesian and Vietnamese foreign carers, Taiwanese family employers and older persons receiving care were undertaken. The analytical findings of the research reflect the ways in which the foreign carer, older persons receiving care and family employer participants were socially situated within the research context and how their respective social realities were shaped differently by changing social structures and cultural values within a globalising context. *(Re)-regulating care* was generated as the core category, forming a coherent and overarching framework that integrated the three analytical dimensions of *the reality of the social change*, *resituating roles* and *struggling for control*. *The reality of social change* refers to the employment of foreign carers as a manifestation of the reshaping of the social worlds of the three groups of participants. *Resituating roles* reflects the processes that underpin the hierarchical positioning of participants, the resultant asymmetrical power relations and associated interactions. *Struggling for control*, depicts how each group employed strategies to create space and identities that would sustain a sense of self and autonomy. In the current situation of economic and social change in Taiwan the three participant groups shared a desire for control. The autonomy of the women employers was negotiated through employment of foreign carers; for the foreign carers, a pragmatic decision to work abroad became a means for personal empowerment; and the older persons receiving care regained some authority through relationships with carers.

A list of international conferences related to this research

Yu-Hsien Chen & Carol Windsor. (2010). An exploration of aged care provided by foreign carers in Taiwan. *Paper presented at the 2010 Asia-Pacific Research Symposium* 26-28 May, Taipei, Taiwan. (Oral)
(Best Doctoral Student Research Award)

Yu-Hsien Chen & Carol Windsor. (2010). An exploration of aged care provided by foreign carers in Taiwan. *Paper presented at the 2010 Asia-Pacific Research Symposium* 26-28 May, Taipei, Taiwan. (Poster)

Yu-Hsien Chen, Carol Windsor, & Karen Theobald. (2011). An exploration of the employment of foreign carers for older relatives at homes in Taiwan. *Paper presented at the 10th International Family Nursing Conference* 25-27 June, Kyoto, Japan. (Oral)

Yu-Hsien Chen, Carol Windsor, & Karen Theobald. (2012). (Re)-regulating care for older persons in Taiwan. *Paper presented at the Cultivating the New Century Model and Shaping the Benchmarking of Professional Care International Conference* 11-12 April, Chiayi, Taiwan. (Poster)

Table of Contents

Keywords	i
Abstract	ii
A list of international conferences related to this research	iii
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Appendices	ix
Statement of Original Authorship	x
Acknowledgements	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and significance of this research	1
1.2 Research aims	5
1.3 Motivation for the research	6
1.4 Definition of key words in this research	8
1.5 Theory and method	9
1.6 Structure of this thesis	10
CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUAL LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Introduction	12
2.2 Ageing population and growing aged care needs in Taiwan	12
2.3 Social welfare for older Taiwanese	15
2.3.1 Financial support	15
2.3.2 Health promotion and support	16
2.3.3 Community care	17
2.3.4 Social welfare gap	17
2.4 Family care	18
2.4.1 Family-centred aged care	18
2.4.2 Social change and the care burden	20
2.5 Foreign carers	21
2.5.1 Background to employment of foreign workers	21
2.5.2 Working roles of foreign carers	24
2.5.3 Advantages of the employment of foreign carers	25
2.5.4 Disadvantages of the employment of foreign carers	26
2.5.5 Social issues in relation to foreign carers	27
2.6 Conclusion	29
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	30
3.1 Introduction	30
3.2 Symbolic interactionism	31
3.3 Social interaction	33
3.4 Berger and Luckmann's theoretical framework	34
3.5 Social order and socio-cultural determination	35
3.5.1 Habitualisation, institutionalisation and legitimation	37
3.5.2 Cultural determination	41
3.6 Symbol, language and socialisation	43
3.7 Identity and agency	46

3.8	Summary	48
CHAPTER 4: METHODS.....		49
4.1	Introduction	49
4.2	Background to Charmaz's analytic work	49
4.3	Participant sampling.....	51
4.4	Sampling criteria.....	53
4.5	Participants	54
4.6	Recruitment of participants	56
4.7	Data collection.....	58
	4.7.1 Focus group interviews.....	59
	4.7.2 In-depth interviews.....	62
4.8	Data Analysis.....	63
4.9	Coding.....	64
	4.9.1 Initial coding	65
	4.9.2 Focused coding	68
4.10	Theoretical analysis.....	72
4.11	Memo-writing.....	72
4.12	Translation.....	76
4.13	Ethical statement.....	77
4.14	Treatment of literature.....	79
4.15	Rigour	79
4.16	Summary	81
CHAPTER 5: THE REALITY OF SOCIAL CHANGE.....		83
5.1	Introduction	83
5.2	Reshaping aged care obligations.....	86
5.3	Outsourcing care.....	91
5.4	Changing identity.....	99
5.5	Reconstructing relationships.....	103
5.6	Summary	106
CHAPTER 6: RESITUATING ROLES.....		108
6.1	Introduction	108
6.2	Making a choice.....	109
6.3	Regulating foreign carers	126
6.4	Surveillance	138
6.5	Summary	143
CHAPTER 7: STRUGGLING FOR CONTROL.....		145
7.1	Introduction	145
7.2	Becoming vulnerable	146
	7.2.1 A fractured family.....	147
	7.2.2 Making sense of Taiwanese as employers	155
7.3	Seeking normality	164
	7.3.1 Sustaining control.....	164
	7.3.2 Finding a space	168

7.3.3	It is hard to go back	173
7.4	Summary	177
CHAPTER 8: (RE)-REGULATING CARE.....		178
8.1	Introduction	178
8.2	The analytical dimensions of (re)-regulating care.....	178
8.3	(Re)-regulating care as theory.....	182
8.3.1	The politics of foreign carers	183
8.3.2	The politics of filial piety and care.....	187
8.3.3	Identity, space and the foreign carer.....	190
8.4	Implications and recommendations.....	195
8.4.1	Implications and recommendations for the government.....	195
8.4.2	Implications and recommendations for practice.....	198
8.4.3	Implications and recommendations for future research	199
8.5	Limitations	200
8.6	Conclusion.....	201
REFERENCES		203
APPENDICES		238

List of Figures

Figure 2-1 <i>Life expectancy of the Taiwanese in 1997-2009</i>	13
Figure 2-2 <i>Proportion of the older population</i>	14
Figure 2-3 <i>The number of foreign carers from different countries (2004-2011)</i>	22
Figure 5-1 <i>The concepts related to the analytic dimension of “the reality of social change”</i>	85
Figure 6-1 <i>The concepts underpinning the analytic dimension of “resituating roles”</i>	109
Figure 7-1 <i>The concepts underpinning the analytic dimension of “struggling for control”</i>	146
Figure 8-1 <i>The core category of “(re)-regulating care”</i>	179
Figure 8-2 <i>The structure of the research context: (re)-regulating care as theory</i>	181

List of Tables

Table 4-1	<i>Participant summary</i>	56
Table 4-2	<i>Focus Group 1 in Taitung County Police Bureau: 100 minutes</i>	61
Table 4-3	<i>Focus Group 2 in Taoyan counties: 90 minutes</i>	61
Table 4-4	<i>Example of initial coding</i>	67
Table 4-5	<i>Example of focused coding</i>	68
Table 4-6	<i>An example of focused coding with codes (grouping and comparison)</i>	69
Table 4-7	<i>An example of grouping the focused codes (Family employment participant)</i>	70
Table 4-8	<i>Structure of thesis chapters, analytic dimensions and concepts (Memo)</i>	71
Table 4-9	<i>Two examples of a research memo</i>	74
Table 4-10	<i>An example of memo-writing (structure of analytic dimensions and concepts)</i>	75
Table 5-1	<i>Descriptions of Indonesian and Vietnamese carers on websites of private recruitment agencies</i>	98

List of Appendices

Appendix A: <i>Interview questions for family employer participants</i>	239
Appendix B: <i>Interview questions for foreign carer participants</i>	241
Appendix C: <i>In-depth interview with 19 family employer participants:</i>	243
Appendix D: <i>In-depth interview with 15 older persons receiving care participants</i>	244
Appendix E: <i>In-depth interview with 13 foreign carer participants</i>	245
Appendix F: <i>Research Consent Form (Dalin Township Public Health Centre)</i>	246
Appendix G: <i>Research Consent Form (Meishan Township Public Health Centre)</i>	247
Appendix H: <i>QUT Human Ethics Approval Certificate</i>	248
Appendix I: <i>Participant information sheet</i>	250
Appendix J: <i>Research information sheet and consent form (Chinese version)</i>	252
Appendix K: <i>Research information sheet and consent form (Indonesian version)</i>	254
Appendix L: <i>Research information sheet and consent form (Vietnamese version)</i>	256

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature: QUT Verified Signature

Date: 25/04/2013

Acknowledgements

So many people have been generous with their energy, resources, time and patience for me. Firstly, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my supervisor team, Dr. Carol Windsor and Dr. Karen Theobald. Without their guidance and support, I could not have learned so much about qualitative research. The weekly meetings were wonderful learning opportunities to inspire my theoretical thinking. I also want to acknowledge the Queensland University of Technology for offering me scholarship for my PhD research.

I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Martin Reese for his English support during my Masters and PhD learning journey. I want to thank my families, aunt, sister, brother-in-law and two nieces as they provided their supports for me all the time. I also want to thank my best friends, Yi-Ya and Sheng-Fen. They have been so generous to introduce research participants to me. I was also helped by many friends to overcome various challenges in Brisbane. Thanks to Ho, Kathy, Max, Jayne, Rita, Joy, Ella, Andie, Winnie, Terry, Yunxian, Amanda, Hawazen, Katina, Thanh and other friends. Thanks, Dr. Shu-Shin, you provided professional counselling helps for me when coping with difficult situations.

I also would like to express my appreciation to all my research participants. Thanks for sharing your special life experiences and stories with me. It motivated me to keep working on the different milestones of the PhD journey. It was my privilege to undertake this research and to develop some theoretical understandings of the employment of foreign carers for older people at homes in Taiwan. Because of your participation, I have the opportunity to finish this thesis.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS RESEARCH

Globally, people aged 60 years and over constitute the fastest growing population sector. In 2010, the ageing population was 524 million of the total world population and by 2050 this sector is expected to have reached more than 1.5 billion or 29% of the world's population (World Health Organization, 2011). All developed countries are experiencing increased ageing and a concomitant rise in chronic diseases which is imposing a greater health and economic burden on governments and families (World Health Organization, 2011).

In Asia, Japan's proportion of older people ranks highest with Taiwan a close second (Department of Statistics, 2007). The proportion of older Taiwanese reached 7% of the total population in 1993 and this proportion has increased dramatically over the past 17 years (Directorate General of Budget, 2009). In June 2012, persons older than 65 years of age represented 10.98% of the total population in Taiwan and it is anticipated that by 2056, 37.5% of the population will be over 65 years of age (Council for Economic Planning and Development, 2008; Wen, 2012). A combination of industrialisation, improved sanitation and advanced medical care has also seen the life expectancy of the Taiwanese increase over the past two decades. At the end of 2011, life expectancy was 79.2 years; 82.7 years for females and 76 for males (National Statistics, 2012a). It is estimated that the ageing population in Taiwan will increase steadily and thus the provision of quality of care for this population will create new issues for both the government and families.

With the phenomenon of longevity comes the issue of care for older people because both the acute and long-term care needs of this sector are generally higher than for other age groups. When older people suffer from acute illnesses, they require longer periods of time to recover and more complications may develop from the acute diseases. Furthermore, chronic illness can be a significant problem for the ageing population in limiting activities of daily living (ADLs) and instrumental

activities of daily living (IADLs) (Fan, 2007; World Health Organization, 2011). Cancer, cerebrovascular and cardiovascular diseases are the leading contributors to the financial health burden in high-income countries. In Taiwan, over two thirds of older persons suffer from chronic or severe diseases and 82% of these use health care services regularly (Ministry of Interior, 2006b). Moreover, the hospitalisation rate in this population is 6.1 times greater than those under 65 years of age (Directorate General of Budget, 2003). A National Health Insurance system designed to ensure access to quality health care for the Taiwanese was first instituted in 1995 and now benefits over 99% of the population (Bureau of National Health Insurance, 2009). Thus, most health care needs of the Taiwanese are covered by health insurance and the older Taiwanese are no exception.

However, research has shown that the prevalence of older people suffering from ADL disabilities ranged from 7.45% to 11.51% in different administrative areas in Taiwan (Chung et al., 2008). Without assistance, this proportion of the ageing population (250,000) may have difficulty in maintaining activities related to daily living in the community (Department of Statistics, 2009). Providing sufficient care for these people has therefore created a care burden for Taiwanese society and particularly for family caregivers. This is because the majority of older Taiwanese are cared for by families in the community. Although the number of disabled older Taiwanese who are cared for in aged care facilities is increasing, this population remains relatively small to the extent of 2% in 2009 and rising to 5% in June 2012 of the ageing population (Department of Statistics, 2009; National Statistics, 2012b).

Family-centred aged care was and continues to be the dominant care system in Taiwan influenced as it is by the enduring values underpinning filial piety. Indeed, the policy of "ageing in place" is underpinned by the principle of family centred care and has been set as a key goal for long-term care by the Taiwanese government. However, lack of sufficient social welfare and community services for older people is a critical issue. Since 1990, the government has taken some steps towards developing social welfare policies to address these gaps including the introduction of a home care and day care system, access to housework services, development of a meal delivery service, an increase in long-term care beds and provision of economic

support (Ministry of the Interior, 2009a). A specific strategy, introduced in 1992, allowed the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan as caregivers for disabled Taiwanese (Kung, 2002; Lan, 2004). Yet, despite attempts to expand social welfare and care systems over the past two decades, the shortage of services and carers for older people has not diminished and as a result more and more foreign carers are being employed to provide care for older persons. Issues surrounding carer shortage and foreign carers have posed some interesting and new challenges (Chiou, Yang, & Chen, 2004; Wang, 2010).

New legislation regarding foreign labour workers was first introduced by the Council of Labour Affairs (CLA) in 1989 and foreign workers from Southeast Asia were employed in designated working areas in Taiwan, such as public construction sites and factories. Following this policy, foreign carers were imported into Taiwan as caregivers from 1992 to address the growing care needs of the older population (Kung, 2002). Over the past two decades, the number of foreign labour workers in Taiwan has increased sharply with over 440,000 foreign labour workers imported from Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam and Mongolia (Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Over half of these workers were hired as carers for disabled Taiwanese in nursing homes, long-care facilities and private households (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009a).

Despite the fact that the global economic crisis of the past few years had a significant impact on the labour market in Taiwan, the number of foreign carers has continued to increase. This has occurred to extent that 140,000 foreign carers were employed in 2007, 174,300 by December 2009 and by June 2012 the number had risen to over 200,000 (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009c; Ministry of the Interior, 2012). One of the key characteristics of foreign carer employment is that over 96% (163,000) are employed privately by individuals and provide personal care in households (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009c). This is because, for employers, the advantages of foreign carers are that they provide 24-hour care, assume responsibility for housework and attract lower salaries than local carers (Luo, You, & Wu, 2007). As such, relationships between older Taiwanese, family members and foreign carers have become a

significant feature of Taiwanese society and literally millions of people are influenced by this social phenomenon.

During the past decade, research related to foreign carers has largely focused on the capacity of these employees to cope with and adjust to their work situations; government policies and management in relation to foreign carers (Cheng, 2003, Lee, 1996, Lee, 2008, Wang, 2010); and the changes to the local labour market as a result of the inflow of foreign workers (Tsai, 2006). The decision making process of hiring a foreign carer for disabled spouses (Lin, 2004) and the care relationship changes between disabled older people and their family caregivers have also been investigated (Tsao, 2002). Pei-Chia Lan (2003, 2004, 2005, 2006b, 2008) also devoted herself to an ethnographic investigation of foreign domestics and Taiwanese employers over a ten year period. Although research, as noted above, has identified many issues around the experiences of foreign domestic workers or carers in Taiwan, there is little differentiation between types of caregiving whether for older people, children, disabled people or domestic households (Cheng, 2003, Lee, 1996, Lan, 2004, 2006a, 2008, Wang 2010). There is, therefore, an unaddressed knowledge area related to the ways in which care arrangements shape the experiences of foreign carers and their relationships with older persons receiving care and family employers.

Although many countries face similar problems related to aged care, the ways in which these are experienced differ across socio-cultural-political contexts. In Taiwan, the experiences of family employers in the employment of foreign carers for older relatives, of being cared for by foreign carers and of foreign carers in caring for older people in domestic settings are still not clearly understood. We know little, for example, about those factors that shape the decisions of families to employ foreign carers for their older relatives rather than turning to other local care services (Cheng, 2003, 2006, Lan 2006a, Lee 2008). Similarly, we have little insight into the strategies used by family employers in negotiating with and managing foreign carers in households (Lee, 1996, Cheng, 2003, Lan, 2003, 2006a, 2006b). Related issues are the language barriers and cultural differences between foreign carers and Taiwanese people and how these impact upon everyday lives are worthy of exploration.

The purpose of this research was to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households. The theoretical framework brought together symbolic interactionist concepts and the social constructionism of Berger and Luckmann (1966). Data collection and analysis were informed by the constructivist methods of Charmaz (2006). The meanings surrounding the actions of family members, older persons receiving care and foreign carers and the social processes underpinning these actions were explored through a rigorous framework of data gathering, coding procedures, and analysis. The outcomes of this research provide a comprehensive picture of the interactions between foreign carers, their family employers and older persons receiving care. The research also provides valuable data on socio-cultural and political issues related to the employment and regulation of foreign carers as a health care strategy.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS

Foreign carers have become important aged care providers in Taiwan over the past two decades and little is known about how families negotiate the employment of foreign carers, how foreign carers negotiate their experiences working in the households in Taiwan, and the ways in which older persons receiving care manage this form of care. Thus this research sought to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households.

The research focused on the interactions and experiences of Taiwanese families, foreign carers and older persons receiving care in households. The aims of this research were to:

- Explore the meanings for Taiwanese families of living with an older family member and a foreign carer.
- Explore the meanings for older Taiwanese who have been cared for by foreign carers.

- Explore the ways in which Indonesian and Vietnamese women working as carers for older people in Taiwan, negotiate their lives.
- Understand the social processes that construct the experience of employing foreign carers to care for older Taiwanese at home.
- Develop theoretical concepts from this research which might contribute to the development of policies and support systems for families, older people and foreign carers.

Rich research data were important in shaping to the analytic work, observations, theorising process and theoretical products. In the initial processes, data were derived from focus group interviews and in-depth interviews with foreign carers, family employers and older persons receiving care participants. As data analysis proceeded, other sources of data including news, literatures, journal articles and policies were also accessed in developing theoretical understandings related to the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households.

1.3 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH

As a nurse working in a hospital, it was common for me to interact with Indonesian, Vietnamese and Filipina carers. These carers were employed by Taiwanese families to provide care for older people at home and they also frequently took responsibility for their care receivers when the latter were admitted to hospital. The majority of care receivers are incapable of self-care because of physical or mental problems. Thus, it was not unusual to see foreign carers at the bedside and the everyday lives of older patients and foreign carers being enacted in the hospital. Nurses were required to teach the carers how to undertake observations of and provide adequate personal care for older patients including changing body position, applying chest percussion, undertaking nasogastric tube feeding and maintaining personal hygiene. We sometimes experienced difficulties in communicating with the newly-employed carers because of language barriers and thus misunderstandings over care issues arose. Indeed, we were very aware of levels of anxiety on the part of foreign carers. The environment and responsibilities in the hospital setting gave rise

to pressure, tension and distress for foreign carers who were uneducated and unprepared for nursing work (Yang, Shin, Cheng, Ho& Chen, 1999). As a nurse, I often thought about the various issues related to the quality of care provided by foreign carers.

While I was preparing for my English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) test in 2005, I did tai chi in Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall in Taipei each morning. Hundreds of people exercised there and over twenty exercise activities were conducted by group members every morning. The majority of these were older people. I observed that several disabled older people were brought to the same place every morning by their foreign carers and even on rainy day or very cold days. These older people were situated in their wheelchairs in a group and their foreign carers sat together beside them as another group. It was easy to tell that the foreign carers were friends because they were chatting, laughing, playing with others' cell phones and sharing food and coffee. Compared to the foreign carers I had encountered in the hospital, these were happier and more relaxed. I realised foreign carers' daily lives indeed were influenced by the conditions of their care receivers as they were together all day long.

In addition to my PhD research in Australia, I undertook a Master of Nursing program in the aged care field and a part-time job as an assistant nurse in a nursing home in Australia. Undertaking a part-time job as an assistant nurse helped me understand and learn about nursing home care in a Western country. My nursing role was to provide personal care in the nursing home for older Australian residents who had dementia or suffering from other severe diseases. However, I was perceived as a foreign carer, a foreigner and outsider by local colleagues. Despite my nursing knowledge, skills and experience, I was sometimes embarrassed by my Chinese accent when speaking English. I struggled to fulfil my duties to a high standard and thus I perceived the changing attitudes of my manager and colleagues. This work experience gave me the opportunity to understand to some extent the situation of foreign carers in Taiwan. Hence, I was motivated to conduct this research in order to understand how the lives of foreign carers, older persons receiving care and family employers are shaped and reshaped by their interactions within an ongoing social

process. Also, I explored how these people used strategies to meet their physical, economic and cultural needs as they were situated in different positions and social environments.

Within the contemporary context of globalisation, interacting with people who have different social and cultural backgrounds is unavoidable. As more and more foreign carers are providing care for the ageing population in Taiwan, it is crucial to conduct research to provide understandings of this social phenomenon. The conduct of this research arose from a desire to produce an understanding that would be beneficial to foreign carers, Taiwanese older people and family carers. As a Taiwanese nurse, my social background and working experiences helped me to interact with participants, interpret analytic directions and adopt research procedures. Research findings were generated through interactions with participants and other sources of data and it is hoped that the theoretical insights and understandings that have been developed in this research will bring more attention to issues related to this phenomenon. All of the above demonstrates the motivation of the researcher to share obligations with other social members of this world.

1.4 DEFINITION OF KEY WORDS IN THIS RESEARCH

Foreign carers

Foreign carers in this research are those caregivers from Southeast Asia employed to provide personal care for older people in Taiwan. Most are from Indonesia, Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and Malaysia. They live with the older persons receiving care, employers and host family members. The working areas of these carers are located in care receiver households. The foreign carer participants in this research were female carers from Indonesia and Vietnam because female carers from these two countries represent the biggest group of foreign carers in Taiwan. Moreover, these carers are more likely to be isolated in household because of language barriers.

Older persons receiving care

According to WHO (2012), the definition of an elderly or older person differs in different contexts, but the majority of developed countries accept that the definition of an older person is one who is aged of 65 years and over. In this research, older persons receiving care were Taiwanese aged 65 years and over who were diminished in the area of activities of daily living (ADL). The majority of these older persons cohabited with their families and Indonesian or Vietnamese carers while some lived alone with a foreign carer. The foreign carers were employed to assist with ADLs and to provide personal care and domestic care.

Family employers

The family employers in this research were Taiwanese who had employed foreign carers to look after their older relatives in the households. Most were sons, sons-in-law, daughters, daughters-in-law and spouses of older people.

1.5 THEORY AND METHOD

The research purpose was to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households through an exploration of how foreign carers, older persons receiving care and family employers constructed meanings around their everyday lives while interacting in the domestic setting. Charmaz's (2006) constructivist methods provided a systematic research procedure for this research. The procedures guided data collection, data analysis and thesis writing. The researcher was not separate from the research but engaged in interactions with participants and made decisions about research procedures and interpretations in constructing theoretical understandings and this thesis. Fifty-seven participants were purposefully selected for focus group and in-depth interviewing. Literature and policies related to the research topic were also selected as research data. The theoretical framework which combined symbolic interactionism and social constructionism added depth to the analysis. The procedures of coding, memo writing and theoretical sampling were adopted to

conceptualise codes and to develop the theoretical categories and core category around which the research analysis is constructed.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THIS THESIS

This thesis consists of eight chapters and appendices. The first chapter provided an introduction to the research, the research background, the significance of the research, the research aims and the situation of the researcher in relation to the research context.

Chapter 2 addresses the social reality of the employment of foreign carers for older people in households in Taiwan. This chapter also reviews literature that is broadly related to background issues relevant to caring for older people for families and interactions between foreign carers, older persons receiving care and family employers. Finally, the research is situated and justified with an analysis of social issues related to how care arrangements impact on the lives of foreign carers and Taiwanese host families.

Chapter 3 argues and justifies the theoretical framework of this research which is underpinned by symbolic interactionism and social constructionism. Key theoretical concepts from the works of Mead, Blumer, Goffman, Berger and Luckman are addressed in this chapter in formulating the theoretical lens for this research.

Chapter 4 presents a justification of Charmaz's constructivist work which underpinned the research methods. The recruitment procedures, data collection and analysis process and issues of validity and reliability are detailed in this chapter.

The research findings are organised and presented around three analytical dimensions and one core category. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 explores the three dimensions; *the reality of social change, resituating roles and struggling for control*. The core

category, *(re)-regulating care* is addressed in Chapter 8 as it conceptualised and integrated the three dimensions to form a coherent and overarching theoretical framework. Finally and in this chapter implications and recommendations that arise from the research are addressed and research limitations and conclusion are also discussed.

Chapter 2: Contextual literature review

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This contextual review considers some background issues relevant to caring for vulnerable older persons in Taiwan. Because of the demographic transition in Taiwan noted in the previous chapter, promoting healthy ageing has become an important focus in Taiwanese society. Family-centred aged care was and remains the predominant care model in Taiwan. Yet, part of this care responsibility is now assumed by services external to the family. Most significantly, the social and economic transformation of the past few decades in Taiwan has seen many thousands of foreign carers move into Taiwanese homes to care for frail older people. The interactions between foreign carers, family employers and the older persons receiving care have given rise to significant issues in Taiwanese society. In this literature review, the realities of aged care needs and family care style in Taiwan are addressed. What is known about the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older persons is also addressed and areas for further research are identified.

2.2 AGEING POPULATION AND GROWING AGED CARE NEEDS IN TAIWAN

Promoting healthy ageing has become an important objective for many countries and Taiwan is no exception. An ageing society is and will be a universal phenomenon for both developed and developing countries. According to the WHO (2001), “the challenge in the 21st century is to delay the onset of disability and ensure optimal quality of life for older people.” The WHO’s campaign for “Active Ageing” was announced in 1999, “the United Nations International Year for Older Persons” with the aim of extending healthy life expectancy and the quality of life at older ages” (World Health Organisation, 2001). Even though Taiwan has been unsuccessful in gaining formal membership of the WHO, the announcement of “Active Ageing” has been embraced in this country. In 1999, over ten local events were held in

celebration of the International Year for Older Age (Ministry of the Interior, 1999). Hence, issues surrounding ageing have been firmly placed on the national agenda.

Taiwan transformed from a traditional agrarian society into a modern industrial economy in a remarkably short period of time. Economic development was accompanied by an expanding ageing population and this has given rise to greater attention to social welfare policies around aged care. The increased life expectancy, combined with lower fertility, has seen a rapid demographic shift to the extent that at the end of 1993 the proportion of Taiwanese aged 65 and over had increased to more than 7% of the total population (Glaser et al., 2006). At that point Taiwan became an ageing society (Directorate General of Budget, 2009). The following figures depict a continuing and steady increase in life-expectancy where in 1997, life expectancy in Taiwan was 74.54 years and rose to 78.97 years in 2009 and to 79.2 years in 2011 (Ministry of the Interior, 2010; National Statistics, 2012b).

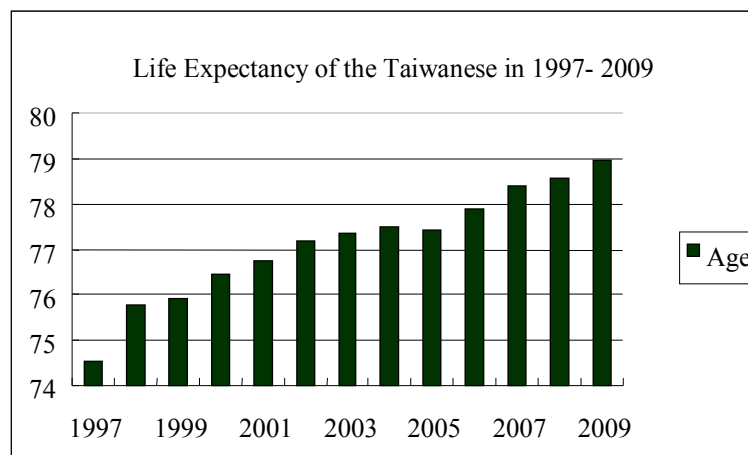


Figure 2-1 *Life expectancy of the Taiwanese in 1997-2009*

Currently, Taiwan has a population of over 23 million and of these 2.5 million, or 10.9%, are aged 65 years and over (National Statistics, 2012b). It is estimated that the percentage of the ageing population will be 20.1% in 2025 and this means that one out of five Taiwanese will be considered an older person (Directorate General of Budget, 2009). This dramatic increase in the proportion of older people poses the essential challenge of how to provide appropriate aged care in Taiwan.

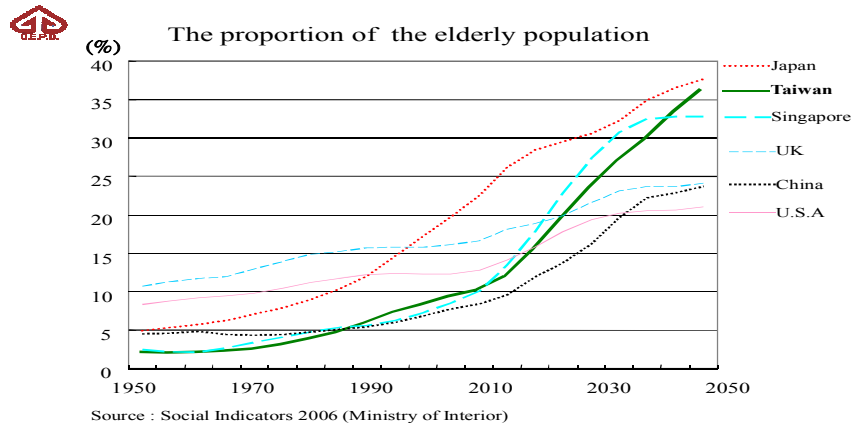


Figure 2-2 *Proportion of the older population*

Figure 2-2 indicates that the proportion of the older population in Taiwan has increased dramatically since 2010 and by 2050 in Taiwan will be larger than that in other developed countries (Singapore, United Kingdom, China and America) although smaller than Japan. Along with the phenomenon of a growing ageing population in Taiwan, an increased risk of developing chronic disease and disability has been predicted. According to the 2000 National Statistics (2000), 88.5% of disabled Taiwanese in need of long-term care services were older people over 65 years of age. Moreover, over 89% of older Taiwanese are suffering from some form of chronic disease (Department of Health, 2011) and the prevalence of older Taiwanese who lack the ability to perform activities of daily living ranged from 7.45% to 11.51% (Chuang, Chuang, Chen, & Wu, 2008). The number of older people who need personal care has thus steadily increased. In 1993, the number of older people requiring personal carers was between 40, 000 to 100,000 and by the end of 2010 this had increased to between 118,000 and 240,000 (Chang, Lai, Hwang, Ho, & Hwang, 2010b). Public health policies are concerned with how to keep people, particularly older people, living independently in the community. Of the 2.52 million older Taiwanese, approximately 43,000 are living in long-term care facilities and over 94% are living in communities (National Statistics, 2012b). Improving the quality of life of older people has thus become a key issue for the Taiwanese government and for families.

2.3 SOCIAL WELFARE FOR OLDER TAIWANESE

The Taiwanese government instituted the “Senior Citizens Welfare Act” in 1980, legislation that saw home care services for older people in Taiwan introduced for the first time. The services included home nursing care, a recovery service, home visiting, meal delivery, phone care and housekeeping services all of which were designed to sustain older people in community settings. According to need, services and welfare have been further developed along with policy changes. The 1980 Act has been reformulated six times, the last in July, 2009 (Ministry of the Interior, 2009a). Recently, three specific directions for further policy attention in support for older people were set down. These are financial support, health promotion and community care. Yet, these reformations of social welfare for older Taiwanese have achieved little in reducing the burden experienced by family carers, a situation that underlies the growth in numbers of foreign carers in households.

2.3.1 Financial support

The social welfare system in Taiwan is fragmented. Taiwanese receive pensions from various insurance systems such as the Labour Insurance, Farmers’ Health Insurance, Government Employees’ Insurance and Insurance for Military Personnel schemes. Moreover, from 1993 the government has also provided living allowances for mid and low-income senior citizens. According to a 2005 national survey (Ministry of Interior, 2006a), the majority of older Taiwanese experienced some financial difficulties, over half (53.37%) were recipients of economic support from their children and 33.4% depended upon government support. Moreover, 22% stated that they lacked sufficient money for daily living. Compared to a similar survey in 2000 (Ministry of Interior, 2001), the percentage of older people needing financial support from children and the government had increased. This evidence suggested that children were the key economic source for older Taiwanese and that the economic responsibility for children had steadily increased up until 2008 a period during which the majority of older people in Taiwan were not protected by social insurance.

The National Pension Insurance was launched on October 1, 2008. This scheme was designed to ensure basic economic security for those Taiwanese not protected by existing social insurance (Council of Labor Affairs, 2009). In 2010, approximately 54% of older people were receiving government financial support (National Statistics, 2012a). In 2011, one out of three older people were supported by the National Pension Insurance and approximately 65% of older people received a basic living allowance from the government (National Statistics, 2012a). These figures indicate that the number of older people in need of economic support is expanding. Furthermore, while the majority of older people receive economic subsidies from the government, the financial security of this population is largely unknown. Recent research (Chang, Lai, Hwang, Ho, & Hwang, 2010) indicates that over half the older population depend on economic support from families which suggests that families are still expected to fill the economic gap in social welfare.

2.3.2 Health promotion and support

As noted earlier a National Health Insurance system, with the objective of ensuring quality of health care for Taiwanese, was first instituted in 1995. It is mandatory for Taiwanese to contribute to the program and over 99% of citizens are now eligible for national health insurance (Bureau of National Health Insurance, 2009). Under the health insurance umbrella, older Taiwanese can access health care services, including acute and community health care and regular free health examinations are also provided. In order to support those on low incomes additional financial support covers dentures and the employment of carers (Ministry of the Interior, 2009a). This health insurance provides what the government perceives to be sufficient and effective health care for older Taiwanese. It has been estimated that, of those older Taiwanese who suffer from severe or chronic diseases, 82% in 2006 and 89% in 2011 used these health services regularly (Department of Health, 2011; Ministry of Interior, 2006b).

In Taiwan, cancer, hypertension, cataract, heart disease, stroke, chronic lung diseases, arthritis, diabetes and osteoporosis are common diagnoses within the older population (Department of Health, 2009). Over 95% of the older population used

national health insurance resources between 1996 and 2005, they undertook on average 26.8 health clinic visits per year and more than one out of five were admitted to hospitals (Department of Health, 2009). Hence, promoting healthy ageing as a priority has seen the government turn to health promotion and prevention strategies designed to improve older people's quality of life (Department of Health, 2009).

2.3.3 Community care

Community care has been available for older Taiwanese for over two decades. The *Development Program for the Care Service Industry* was formulated by Executive Yuan of Taiwan to provide community care for older Taiwanese in 2001 (Chen, 2008). In 2005, a "Ten-Year Long-Term Care Plan" was launched to integrate various community care resources into one system. Home care, day care, respite care, food delivery, transportation services, psychological consultation services, long-term care facilities services, dementia care and older people's recreations, participation and education are included in this plan. A component of this plan provides carers for disabled older people who live in the community. This service can be accessed from 25, to 50 or 90 hours per month. Moreover, economic support is also provided for those who have employed a local carer (Ministry of the Interior, 2009b). Community based care appears compatible with the cultural norm of filial piety and as Chang, et al., (2010a) indicate only 20% of older Taiwanese are willing to access institutional care. Nonetheless, research (Huang, Shyu, Chang, Weng, & Lee, 2009; Lo, Lin, Chang, & Chiang, 2011) also suggests that the majority of disabled older people do not use any of the services offered whether community or otherwise based. This was attributed to the limited range of services that was confined to wounds, catheter and stoma care. Older people with complex health care needs were therefore faced with limited community services and this is one key reason for low usage of those services (Chang, et al., 2010; Ho, Tseng & Shu, 2010). The majority of older people relied solely on support provided by families.

2.3.4 Social welfare gap

There is a perceived gap between provision and satisfaction in terms of providing services for older people. This is evidenced in the conclusions of Tai's

(2008b) research, which indicated that Taiwan has a much higher level of elder poverty in comparison with Western countries. Tai stated that low welfare efficiency and limited social provisions in Taiwan make the largest contribution to the poverty of this group. Although the Taiwanese government has increased older people's social allowances, this has not reduced the poverty rates of this sector (Chuang, 2011) and the high rate of older people who live with families remains significant (Tai, 2008a). The expectation that family members will assume most responsibility for their older relatives is attributed to both cultural Taiwanese tradition and political pragmatism. The recent global economic crisis increased the unemployment rate and the economic insecurity of Taiwanese and in turn the vulnerability of older Taiwanese (Chen, 2008; Wang, Wong, & Tang, 2012).

2.4 FAMILY CARE

2.4.1 Family-centred aged care

Family caregivers and family-centred aged care in Taiwan are important factors influencing older people's life experiences. In most countries, meeting the health care needs for an ageing population is a shared responsibility involving both formal and informal support systems. Informal care refers to non-professional care provided by family or friends and has been defined as a "low road solution" (Hoff, Feldman, & Vidovicova, 2010). In other words, based on economic and social rationales (Pavalko & Woodbury, 2000), in developed countries, policy making is increasingly directed at encouraging older people to live at home for as long as possible. In Taiwan, the majority of older Taiwanese live in their own houses with only 5% residing in long-term care facilities (Department of Statistics, 2009).

Long-term care facilities have appeared in Taiwan as the long-term care needs of the older Taiwanese have increased. Formal standards for welfare institutions for older people in Taiwan were first enacted by the government in 1981. Yet given the small percentage residing in long-term care, admission to such institutions is a relatively rare event. This is reflected in government statistics (National Statistics, 2003) which indicate that over 60% of older people in Taiwan expect to live with their children and spouses. The most valued benefits of family-centred aged care are

perceived to be convenience for older people and family members and also time and financial savings (Chen & Huang, 2008). The family model of care is thus seen as the optimal way to supply health care for this population and hence community care has been the focus of policy-making over the last decade. What is generally argued is that this model ensures that older people not only maintain a sense of autonomy and independence in the community, but also retain closeness to family and friends (Mackenzie & Lee, 2006).

Cultural and religious needs are often not satisfied in long-term care facilities. It is thus argued that the social needs of older people can be more readily satisfied by maintaining close relationships with family members. Not only is the quality of life of the older person influenced by the fulfilment of cultural and religious needs, but cultural factors may also influence family caregivers' behaviours. Indeed, since the era of Confucius, more than two thousand years ago, the importance of filial piety has been integral to Chinese culture (Chang, 2003; Ruiping, 2006) and as such cultural issues have played an important role in shaping the system of care responsibility for older people in Taiwan.

Filial piety is a critical value and belief system in Chinese and Taiwanese societies. The Confucian concept of filial piety is grounded in the belief that one exists solely because of one's parents. This means therefore that we are at once ourselves and our parents. This belief, embedded as it is in a patriarchal social system, decrees that children and particularly the eldest son are expected to live with and take care of their older parents (Chang, 2003; Chao & Roth, 2000; Ruiping, 2006; Wu et al., 2010). To deviate from this belief is to invite social condemnation. As the Kao and McHugh (2004) research concluded, public opinion continues to have a strong effect on a decision to place parents in long-term care in Taiwan. Moreover, Taiwanese daughters-in-law are similarly influenced by filial piety as caregivers for their parents-in-law. It has been determined that where Taiwanese women care for their parents-in-law they will be praised when displaying filial piety as caregivers and they may be severely criticised if seen to neglect such cultural values (Chao & Roth, 2000; Wu, et al., 2010).

2.4.2 Social change and the care burden

The family-centred aged care system has been influenced by rapid social change over the past two decades. The economy in Taiwan was transformed in a few short decades from an agricultural base to one characterised by manufacturing and more recently, service industries. An associated and much increased demand for labour saw women targeted for employment from the 1970s onwards (Lee, 2009). More women (over 50%) entering the full time waged workforce and subsequently engaging in higher education has meant smaller families and fewer family members available to care for their older relatives (Wang, Ho, Lu, & Yeh, 2007). Indeed, the family structure has been steadily changed as a result of these social changes. In 1994, 67% of older Taiwanese lived with their children (Ministry of Interior, 1994). This decreased to 60% in 2002 and 54% in 2005 (Ministry of Interior, 2001, 2006b). Nonetheless, the number of older people living with families remains substantial in global terms. This has been made possible by, over the past two decades, the movement of hundreds of thousands of foreign carers into Taiwanese households to look after older people. The impact of this social trend has been significant to the extent that over 40% of frail older people are cared for by foreign carers (Luo, 2007).

In summary, the substitution of family carers for foreign carers is a remarkable phenomenon. It has been estimated that prior to the appearance of the foreign carer, 84% of family employers (132,895) fulfilled the care roles, only 6% of care receivers were cared for by local carers and less than 3% were placed in long term care facilities (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b). Although the percentage of older people admitted to age care facilities has only increased from 2% to 5%, the number of private carers for older people has increased dramatically and care provided by foreign carers is the preferred choice of families (Tsai & Lai, 2011).

Hiring a foreign carer is perceived to be a necessary and acceptable strategy in addressing the “care burden” of Taiwanese families. Indeed, this was reinforced by legislation in the early 1990s that allowed for the employment of foreign carers in response to a shortage of local workers. However, the specific phenomenon related

to foreign carers brings both advantages and disadvantages to Taiwan. The following discussion is related specifically to foreign carers.

2.5 FOREIGN CARERS

2.5.1 Background to employment of foreign workers

Unequal economic development between Asian countries has created inequities in the distribution of female employment and some newly industrialised countries such as Taiwan have experienced an increased demand for low-paying female carers to share traditional women's care duties (Cheng, 2003; Gaetano & Yeoh, 2010; Parrenas, 2000). Indeed, since the end of the 1980s, Taiwan has become one of the major labour-receiving countries in Asia. As noted, foreign carers officially appeared in Taiwan following the institution of the Employment Services Act in 1992 to address the shortage of carers for disabled Taiwanese (Employment Services Act, 2009).

According to surveys by the United Nations (1999, 2009), more than half the workers within exporting processes were women in 1999 and the percentage has continued to increase over the past decade. Significantly, female migrants play an important role in sending remittances back to home countries and the vast number of women in developing countries serving as cheap labour overseas is a reflection of the economic burden that exists for families in those countries (Elias, 2011; Griffina, 2007; Pettman, 2003). As Marx (2006) indicates, women are used as a marker of the contemporary phenomenon of globalisation and global trade.

Among all foreign labour workers in Taiwan, the proportion of foreign carers and domestics ranks first and represents around 50% of total foreign workers. The number of foreign carers has increased dramatically over the last twenty-year period to reach 200,000 in June 2012 (Ministry of the Interior, 2012). According to the Act (Employment Services Act, 2009), people with either a serious physical or mental illness can qualify to employ a foreign carer. The criteria specify ten specific physical and mental conditions, including poor mobility, mental disability,

chronically unconscious, dementia, autism, chromosomal anomaly, inherited metabolic disease, chronic psychosis and multi-disability. Family members and long-term care facilities can employ foreign carers where the criteria are demonstrated.

As Figure 2.3 demonstrates, the majority of foreign carers in Taiwan over the last decade came from Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines. Vietnamese carers constituted the biggest group working in private households from 2003 to 2005, but were overtaken from 2006 by the employment of Indonesians carers. By the end of 2011, Indonesia (78%), Vietnam (6.5%), Philippines (11.5%) and other countries (0.7%) were the primary source countries for carers in private households (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009a). Private recruitment agencies in Taiwan and in the sending countries provide services for employers and foreign carers. By cooperating with recruiting agencies in target countries, details of foreign carers are provided to prospective employers. Once a foreign carer is selected by an employer, the agency in the sending country will assist the foreign carer to complete the formal processes before entering Taiwan.

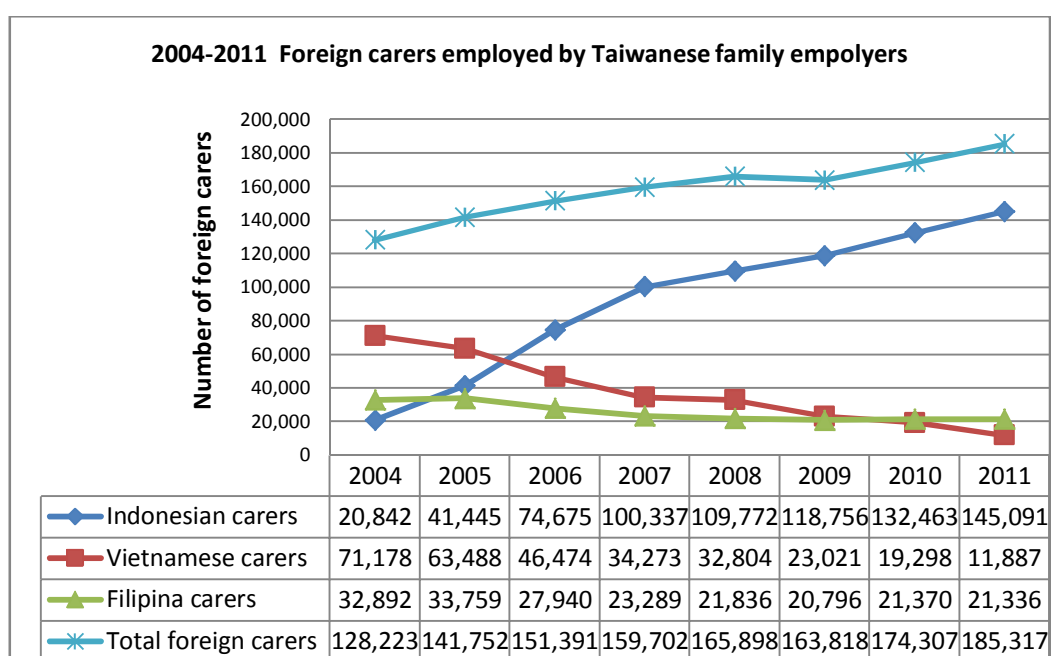


Figure 2-3 *The number of foreign carers from different countries (2004-2011)*

The majority of foreign carers pay a monthly placement fee through wage deductions in their first year working in Taiwan (Kao, 2003). Foreign workers pay different fees to home based agencies and to Taiwanese private agencies. Furthermore and according to the Taiwan International Workers Association (2006), variations in placement fees exist for foreign workers from different countries and as charged by the Taiwanese private agencies. For example, Vietnamese foreign carers pay 2,500 to 3,000 U.S. dollars, Thais 3,430 to 4,700 U.S. dollars, Indonesians 4,060 to 4,700 U.S. dollars and Filipina carers pay 2,030 to 2,700 U.S. dollars. Given the low wages of foreign workers in Taiwan, around 495 to 625 U.S. dollars per month, the service fees impose a further burden on these workers. Because Thai women generally do not choose to work in Taiwan as carers, Vietnamese and Indonesian carers pay expensive placement fee than carers from the other countries. This may influence the decision of private recruitment agencies and brokers in introducing carers from Vietnam or Indonesian. Furthermore, the number of foreign carers from different countries is influenced by political issues and policies. For instance, Vietnamese women were not allowed to apply for any new contract in Taiwanese households since 2005 because of their higher absconding rate. Thus, the number of Vietnamese carers employed by Taiwanese family employers has steadily decreased. The majority of Vietnamese carers are working in long-term care facilities now. Hence, Indonesian carers became the biggest group working in households since 2006.

A foreign carer is permitted to work in Taiwan following the signing of a work contract which covers three years. The maximum period of stay for each foreign carer was nine years before 2012 and following a revision to the Employment Service Law January in 2012 the length of stay could be extended to 12 years (Council of Labor Affairs, 2012; Pan, 2007). The government extended the length of stay in response to pressure over brokerage fee exploitation, training costs and employment demands. In 2012, the number of foreign workers in Taiwan reached a record 440,000 with over 200,000 carers or domestics employed by Taiwanese family employers to meet the growing demands of the ageing population (Ministry of the Interior, 2012). Foreign carers are currently and will continue to be the most important long-term care resource in Taiwanese society. Thus, negotiating and

interacting with foreign carers has become part of the lives of many thousands of Taiwanese.

2.5.2 Working roles of foreign carers

The work of foreign carers is defined as personal carer for a disabled care receiver. Apart from this broad definition there is no policy that sets down any clear description of the work to be undertaken. As a result, what is required of foreign carers may vary significantly between employers. According to Tsao (2002), four broad categories of responsibilities can be identified as set out below.

The first is a focus on personal care. This is where the care receiver is suffering from a serious disability and the foreign carer spends the majority of her time providing personal care. Family members take responsibility for housework. The second category refers to a focus on both personal care and housework. When the care receiver's health condition does not require a high level of health care, the foreign carer takes responsibility for housework. In such cases, the family employers dictate the working routines for foreign carers. The third category is where responsibilities are confined to housework. Some family employers do not trust the quality of care of the foreign carer and take on this responsibility themselves. The foreign carer is thus employed exclusively to do housework. The final category refers to the situation where there is no clear boundary between caring and housework duties. For example, some older couples live with their foreign carers without other family members. Here, the foreign carers assume all responsibility for care and housework. They provide total care for the care receivers.

In Taiwan and for the very large majority of foreign carers the boundary between domestic and care work is blurred to a greater or lesser extent. Indeed, some foreign carers are asked to work not only in employers' houses but outside those households. Some take on additional work at their employers' stores or factories and others are asked to work for the employers' relatives or friends (Cheng & Dai, 2008). Thus, there are no clearly negotiated or agreed upon work routines and rules. This places

the foreign carer in a vulnerable situation. The perceived benefits of employing foreign carers are addressed below.

2.5.3 Advantages of the employment of foreign carers

Foreign carers constitute an element of change in informal care and provide important help for families of older people with disabilities in Taiwan. Some significant benefits of foreign carers have been noted by family employers (Luo, You, & Wu, 2007). One is that foreign carers are expected to substitute for family carers and to provide 24 hour care for the elderly. The perception is that the overall care burden is thus shared.

Yet, according to a government survey (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b), fewer than 20% of family employers have provided clearly defined working guidelines for their foreign carers. Indeed, over 80% of foreign carers surveyed reported that they did not take any breaks from work during the day. Overall, the average working hours of the foreign carer were 13 to 17.2 hours per day (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b; Cheng & Dai, 2008). Furthermore, it was determined that 54.1% did not have days off and only 4.83% had regular days off (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b).

Economic advantage is a strong pulling force for employing foreign carers. The cost of a foreign carer is far less than a local carer and women carers can earn at least one third more than foreign carer wages when they (re) enter the labour market (Kao, 2003; Luo, et al., 2007). Over 92% of foreign carers who work for families earn less than 20,000 N.T. dollars (690 A.U. dollars) per month and less than 4,667 N.T. dollars (160 A.U. dollars) per week (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b). By comparison, the average working income of Taiwanese women is 38, 878 N.T. dollars (1,340 A.U. dollars) per month and nearly double a foreign carer's income (National Statistics, 2010).

A further attraction of employing foreign carers already referred to is that the carers will assume responsibility for housework at the behest of employers (Kao, 2003; Luo, et al., 2007). This is possible given the absence of regulation of the working conditions of foreign carers. Thus providing care for low wages and taking on the responsibility for housework are characteristic of the work of these employees. Not surprisingly the nature of this work generates negative outcomes as have been observed in Taiwan and these are the focus of the next section.

2.5.4 Disadvantages of the employment of foreign carers

Some disadvantages of employing foreign carers have also been addressed in research. The government survey noted above found that 41% of family employers indicated some difficulties in getting along with foreign carers. The key and related issue is language and 72.64% of the Taiwanese surveyed reported problems in communicating with foreign carers (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b). Similar problems are highlighted in Lee's (1996) research which found that older people have had negative experiences with foreign carers because communication difficulties result in frustration. Hence differing cultural backgrounds appear as a major factor underlying negative experiences.

There is a small body of research that addresses issues related to the transition of care from family members to foreign carers (Chen, 2005). Care is the central task for foreign carers and also the source of most stress. Before foreign carers commence work in Taiwan little preparation is provided in language or personal care skills and knowledge. One private agency in Indonesia provided a month-long training program on caring for babies (27 hours), housekeeping (27 hours), elder care (27 hours), ironing (18 hours), cooking (24 hours), electronics (27 hours), laundry (9 hours) and basic language vocabulary and conversation (252 hours) (Kao, 2003). Here domestic work is emphasised and care work de-emphasised.

It has been asserted that 20% of foreign carers have difficulty in providing quality care, 17% cannot practice appropriate hygiene and 9% have problems

adjusting to the environments in Taiwan (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b).

2.5.5 Social issues in relation to foreign carers

We see from the above that the introduction of foreign labour into Taiwan has both yielded benefits and created conflict. There is a burgeoning view in Taiwan (Research Development and Evaluation Commission, 2002) that foreign workers have an injurious impact on Taiwanese society. The popular claim is that the existence of foreign workers decreases working opportunities for locals, delays the development of technology, increases ethnic tension and places downward pressure on wages. Meanwhile, foreign carers who are hired by family employers are seen as a specific group because they are controlled by their employers. Even though 80% of family employers have been found to be satisfied with their relationships with foreign carers (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009b), several issues have emerged through the interactions between family employers, care receivers and foreign carers.

Important issues relate to the expectations of foreign carers. First, foreign carers are restricted by working contracts. Under the terms of a contract they are not permitted to change employers and are controlled by their family employers. Family employers have the right to cancel a foreign carer's working contract which would result in a return to country of origin. In order to work overseas, most foreign carers take on loans to pay agency placement fees and this increases the possibilities of exploitation because the carers cannot afford to put their employment at risk (Cheng & Dai, 2008; Kung, 2002; Lan, 2006b). Furthermore, most are required to repay their placement fees in the first year. As a result, the disposable income is often under 20% of the total for that period (Cheng & Dai, 2008; Lan, 2006b) which severely undermines any autonomy. Second, foreign carers are taken into the households of strangers who are themselves foreign. Adjusting to a new environment, a different language and a strange culture poses challenges. These are exacerbated by low pay and heavy workloads. Finally, sexual harassment, violence and sexual abuses have been reported by foreign carers in Taiwan (Pan, 2007; Xue, 2007).

The employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwan has not only changed the social interactions of many Taiwanese, but also impacted on the working and living situations of foreign carers. Limited working rights have restrained their capacity to negotiate and thus they struggle to survive in Taiwan as largely disposable labour (Huang & Douglass, 2009; Lan, 2006a). The challenges are many when women in developing countries cross borders to work in private households. Ozyegin and Hondagneu-Sotelo (2008) point to some significant features of the global trend of outsourcing of domestic work including global inequality and class diversity, ideologies of race and gender and new sources of stigma (pp.195-207). The institution of the employment of foreign carers reflects the complexities of a global economic network and the resulting global market, global competition and social costs.

In light of the working conditions noted above, foreign carers at times choose to leave their employment situations and to become illegal workers in Taiwan. The group of foreign workers and domestic workers has the highest incidence of absconding where these people are looking to escape control and to find better work. Furthermore, the brokage fee is heavy burden for these carers (Lai, 2012). Where the foreign carer absconds, family employers pay the penalty and are not permitted to hire a new foreign carer directly (Lan, 2006a). Moreover, the foreign carer who runs away becomes an illegal worker in Taiwan (Lai, 2012).

The government has sought to address some of these problems through the introduction of new policies. For example, in 2008, the Direct Hiring Service Centre (2008) was instituted. Through this service, employers and foreign workers can directly negotiate contracts and thus circumvent private agencies. This means employers and foreign carers avoid the expense of agency fees and the waiting time for both parties is reduced. Moreover, foreign carers now have the right to change employers. Finally, websites informing employers and foreign workers of available services have been introduced (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009c; Direct Hiring Service Center, 2008).

Within this context of rapid social change both foreign carers and Taiwanese families are vulnerable. The question of how to more effectively regulate this environment to the advantage of both foreign carers and Taiwanese families remains a challenge.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This contextual review has explored the manifestations of changes occurring within the realm of aged care in Taiwan. The level of social welfare for older people remains an issue and has created a social gap in Taiwanese society. Family-centred aged care is perceived as an approach integral to Taiwanese culture. Over 40% of disabled older people are cared for by family and foreign carers at home and this has given rise to unprecedented concerns in this country. Quality of care issues and cultural and social differences between family employers, foreign carers and their care receivers affect many thousands of people's daily lives in Taiwan.

Indeed, even though previous research has identified issues related to the experience of foreign domestic worker or carers in Taiwan (Cheng, 2006; Lan, 2006b), these works did not differentiate between types of care giving. There is a lack of exploration of the experiences of foreign carers and their relationships with older persons receiving care and family employers within households. The review suggests that more research is needed. It is crucial to have better understandings of the actions and reactions of family employers in employing foreign carers for older relatives in households and these Taiwanese family employers negotiate their care responsibilities. A further related issue is how family employers, older people and foreign carers interact and negotiate with each other within the complex context of caring work at home. This research endeavoured to explore these complexities as they manifested in the interactions of the three groups and in the meanings attributed to their respective contexts.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Over the past two decades, foreign carers have played a significant role in the provision of care for disabled Taiwanese and in particular for older people. However, there is little existing research related to this social phenomenon. With the increasing care needs of the ageing population and a rapid growth in the number of foreign carers in Taiwan, care for the elderly and how this is organised and practiced has become a critical issue. This research sought to analyse and conceptualise the social processes that shape the situations and experiences of foreign carers, family employers and Taiwanese older people.

Research has turned to transnational studies resulting from human social formation processes and activity ostensibly connected to transborder and transboundary phenomena over the past few decades (Khagram & Levitt, 2005). A central theoretical tenet of this research is that people assign individual and multiple meanings to their understandings as they interact with others and their environments. Of analytical interest was what the participants actually do in their day-to-day lives and the interrelationships between foreign carers, family employers and older persons receiving care. Hence, a symbolic interactionist theoretical approach was employed as it allowed an exploration of perceptions and actions surrounding the employment of a foreign carer for older people in Taiwanese society. The meanings of individuals were taken into account as participants engaged in everyday activities and interpreted actions and meanings within their social contexts. Symbolic interactionism thus provided a focus on the interactionist dimensions of the research.

When exploring the social processes underpinning the appearance of foreign carers in Taiwan, other relevant sensitising concepts were inequality, culture, identity, governance, organisation and power. Moreover, an examination of shifts in government policy and broader social change provided the background to the research. As such the thesis also drew on the work of Berger and Luckmann (1966)

on social construction as it points to the importance of social, cultural, political, economic and historical interests that shape the employment of foreign carers in households in Taiwan.

In addressing the theoretical frame that underpins this research, this chapter is organised around symbolic interactionist concepts and the theoretical structure of Berger and Luckmann. In so doing the frame seeks to integrate three social dimensions. The first dimension addresses the concepts of symbol, language and social interaction as the basis for interpreting the construction of meanings within the households of employment. The second focuses on social structure and the theoretical concepts of socio-cultural determination and social order. Finally, agency is explored as a concept that gives attention to the actions of the research participants within the social context. By integrating these dimensions the theoretical lens takes both the macro and micro contexts as interconnected units of analysis in this research. The chapter begins with an exploration of the broad tradition of symbolic interactionism and then turns the focus to the key concepts as they inform this research.

3.2 SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Symbolic interactionism is seen as an expression of pragmatism in sociology. What has come to be known as the tradition of symbolic interactionism most obviously evolved within the University of Chicago and has been contributed to by sociologists, philosophers and psychologists. The term symbolic interactionism was first formed by Herbert Blumer (1900-1987) in his work on George Herbert Mead's (1863-1931) social psychology. Although associated with various disciplines from late 1800s through to the mid 20th century, symbolic interactionism is most closely identified with George Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer. Over the last few decades it has been broadly diffused and now sits in the mainstream of sociology (Barbalet, 2009; Charon, 2007).

Mead was devoted to the research of the philosophical and psychological issues of human life building on and heavily influenced by the works of his pragmatist antecedents including, in particular, Cooley and James. Mead built upon Cooley's concept of "self" and James's notion of "consciousness" in developing the intellectual structure of symbolic interactionism. Mead did not, however, develop its methodological bases (Blumer, 1969). The latter was left to Blumer who, as a student of Mead, was responsible for developing symbolic interactionism as a research approach and methodological position. In discussing the methodological bases of this research, the interactionist perspectives of these scholars are central to the framework.

Symbolic interactionism emphasises the social formation of symbols and common or shared meanings and how human beings as social agents communicate and interact with the self and in the self's orientation to others by using these symbols (Barbalet, 2009). In seeking to condense the key tenets of symbolic interactionism, Blumer notably set down three key theoretical propositions which brought together the philosophical foundations of theorists including Mead, Cooley, Dewey and Thomas (Blumer, 1969; Meltzer, Petras, & Reynolds, 1975). These premises provided a precise structure for the methodology of symbolic interactionism. The first is that "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them" (Blumer, 1969, p 2). Second, the meaning of things is understood as derived from the social interactions between human beings and third, the use of meanings by human beings occurs through an interpretative process (Blumer, 1969). This means essentially that people engage in a world which requires reflexive interaction. Further, human interaction is mediated by the use of symbols and interpretation.

Blumer (1969, p. 74) defined symbolic interaction as "the peculiar and distinctive character of interaction as it takes place between human beings". For Blumer, the most important thing that one should know about human interactions is that they are conducted through the interpretation of other's actions and responses to others. Moreover, one can act and respond only through the use of symbols (Blumer, 1969, 1982) and language. As Mead (1934) had already argued, language is the most significant symbol to be used to conduct social acts and interactions. Thus, symbolic

interactionism developed as a theoretical framework for understanding the processes of interaction between humans. In understanding these processes, we come to know about human group life and social reality (Charmaz, 2006; McCann & Clark, 2003). This means that symbolic interactionists pay attention to “how individuals, small groups, communities, and collectivises detect change, redefine objects, create new meanings, alter their plans of action and change the direction and pace of activity” (Saxton, 1993, p. 236).

The discussion now turns to the theoretical concepts situated within the broad tradition of symbolic interactionism important in this research, including symbol, language, social interaction, and agency. These concepts provide a structure for exploring the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers.

3.3 SOCIAL INTERACTION

When discussing the reality of human life and symbolic interactionism, the distinctive character of social interaction is highlighted. This is because people cannot live in their everyday lives without continually interacting and communicating with others. Thus, social interaction is conceived as an essential constituent of human life. Through social interaction, social members construct an orderly environment with various symbols, institutions and socio-cultural norms for social life and also transmit it to the next generation.

Social interaction means that two or more actors get involved in an encounter and as Chaon (2006, p. 142) puts it, this is where “actors take one another into account, symbolically communicate to one another, and interpret one another’s actions”. Within a social context, not only infants start to develop and form their self and mind as they perceive regularities, but also social members together create their living environments, a society, with a totality of their socio-cultural and psychological formations through social interactions (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Indeed, the human being has the quality of a social being and ongoing constant

lifelong social interactions direct an individual to do what they are expected to do (Blumer, 1969; Kumar, 2005).

People together construct their language and word systems, education system, social structure, religious ceremony and social orders for their living environment. These socio-cultural and psychological productions are and will be transferred to the next generation. For the younger generation, the self, mind and individual identity are formed and influenced by these productions through social interactions. This means that the living environments that people take as given and fixed are socially derived from interaction between people (Berger & Luckmann, 1966)

The key tenet derived from the above is that human beings are dynamically involved. Thus, people have considerable agency in shaping their commitment and social world (Mead, 1934; Powers, 2004). In exploring the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan, the social interactions between participants are essential to our understanding of how the participants actively construct that social reality. Social interactions between foreign carers, older persons receiving care, Taiwanese family employers and others give access to insight into communications, negotiations and power relations within their everyday lives. This reflects Mead's (1934) argument that we cannot draw any understanding from the research of individuals alone because the individual belongs to a social structure and cannot be separated from the social context. However, how participants use their agency to make sense of situations and how this in turn shapes their social actions is also of importance.

3.4 BERGER AND LUCKMANN'S THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The Berger and Luckmann theoretical treatise, *The social construction of reality* (1966), was derived from the work of Alfred Schutz (1899-1959) and Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) and is judged to be a significant theoretical development in the research of human beings as social actors. Berger and Luckmann's intent was to engage in "systematic theoretical reasoning" in the area of

sociology (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Indeed, their work provides an important alternative to positivist and post-positivist conceptions of science and it is one of the predominant qualitative research lenses within the social sciences (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Their central assumption that “reality is socially constructed and that the sociology of knowledge must analyse the processes in which this occurs” (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 1) places emphasis on a sociological analysis of the reality within human beings’ everyday lives.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) set down a systematic framework for answering questions about how individuals work together to construct their worlds through their social interactions and also how individuals are influenced by the taken-for-granted knowledge that is created historically and culturally. This perspective recognises the interconnectedness of language, social interaction and social processes; dimensions of social reality as noted above. The first point here is that the social world is a human product that is created and continues to be recreated. This means that, for example, social order, law and cultural rituals are all generated through people’s interactions. Knowledge is also constructed through people’s daily interactions with social life. The other point is that the concepts and categories people use to describe this world are historically and culturally specific. Important concepts central to Berger and Luckmann’s theoretical structure and pertinent to this research are further discussed later in this chapter.

3.5 SOCIAL ORDER AND SOCIO-CULTURAL DETERMINATION

Social structures are constructed by people’s interactions as “joint action” (Blumer, 1969, p. 70) which ensures a stable environment within which people exist (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Indeed, social structures such as culture, laws, and social organisation have important roles in influencing and constraining people’s behaviours and interactions. Lessig (1995, p. 947) used “social meaning” to replace the term social structures or social norms and argued that social meanings constitute “what is authority for a particular society or particular culture”. Furthermore, what is authority and orthodox indeed are also constructed through the interactions between governments and others (Lessig, 1995). Therefore, an emphasis on social order and

social-cultural determination is critical to the analysis of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people at home. These social meanings constitute authority and orthodoxy, which impose instructions, power and restraint on people as actors within the social context. For example, agreements between different governments, regulations related to transnational labour exportation and importation and socio-cultural values related to aged care and women's work are all crucial and should be taken into account.

An individual is a member of his/her society and this gives rise to the question of what is society. Society can be defined as a systematic order, institutions, stratification systems and cultural patterns that are developed over time (Charon, 2007) and provide a stable structure and environment for human life. Within society and the social context, members will assume specific roles and attitudes because members internalise society. As Mead and Murphy (1932, p. 87) stated:

It is due to the structural organization of society that the individual, in successively taking the roles of others in some organised activity, finds himself (sic) selecting what is common in their interrelated acts.

However, individuals are not only influenced and socialised by society but rather, society as a product depends on cooperation fostered by people's social interactions with symbols and their ongoing communication (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Charon, 2007). For example, people in Vietnam, Indonesia and Taiwan are not only influenced by global capitalism and the international movement of labour but these people construct with others to create a world of international collaborations, communications and interactions. National borders, therefore, have been transgressed by industrialisation, international collaboration and globalisation and human lives are thus impacted by a wider-defined society. When it comes to the issue of the importation of foreign workers in Taiwan, for example, policy makers, brokers, labour, employers, family members and different economic producers across nations are all actors in constructing this social process.

3.5.1 Habitualisation, institutionalisation and legitimation

In arguing the importance of social structure this discussion now turns to the concepts of habitualisation, institutionalisation and legitimation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Charon, 2007). Further, the function of the socio-cultural system is to constrain social members of a society in various ways. These concepts provide the bases for explaining the causes of participant actions, conflicts and resistance as they are manifest in the social environment of this research.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that human behaviour is socially constructed and contextually determined. Unlike other animals, human beings can build their own living organisations unrestricted by biological characteristics because people have great flexibility in relation to their surrounding environment. Hence, infants not only interact with the natural environment but also learn to interact with their artificial environment which is determined by socio-cultural systems (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). As Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 48) put it:

Not only is the survival of the human infant dependent upon certain social arrangement, the direction of his (sic) organismic development is socially determined. From the moment of birth, man's organismic development, and indeed a large part of his biological being as such, are subjected to continuing social determined interference.

Because human beings are social in nature, social order is produced and socially constructed by human beings to provide stability for human conduct and also to protect human beings from chaos (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Social order, institutional structures and cultural characteristics provide constraints and opportunities with limitation and guidance for human behaviours (Hayward & Lukes, 2008; Powers, 2004). While it has been argued that symbolic interactionism ignored the existence of social structure (Denzin, 1992; Gouldner, 1970; Maines, 1977; Sauder, 2005), social institutions and structures have also been defined as products of interactions in which "stability and change are context-dependent" (Dennis & Martin, 2007, p. 292). In addressing the allegation that Mead's views reject the existence of structure in human society. Blumer (1969, p. 75) wrote:

Such a position would be ridiculous. There are such matters as social roles, status positions, rank orders, bureaucratic organizations, and relations between institutions, differential authority arrangements, social codes, norms values and the like. And they are very important.

Nonetheless, institutional change depends on the meanings people give and take from the institution (Dennis & Martin, 2007). Indeed, institutionalisation and legitimisation are essential procedures when constructing social structures and social order (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). The understanding that this brings to this research is that the phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwan is shaped by the social processes of institutionalisation and legitimatisation. As Blumer (1969, p. 58) emphasised, “large-scale social organisations have to be seen, studied and explained in terms of the process of interpretation engaged in by the acting participants”.

First, human beings develop and keep performing habits and routines in similar situations. In so doing, the tension of decision making is reduced. Habitualisation therefore, is a process by which habits and routines are formed when human beings engage in their everyday lives (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Second, institutionalisation is the forming of habit and routines to which humans must subscribe. Context and prescriptions of an institution shape the roles and actions of people. In other words, institutions emerge as the central process for constructing social order. Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 54) describe the correlation between habitualisation and institutionalisation as follows:

Institutionalisation occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualised actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution. What must be stressed is the reciprocity of institutional typifications and the typicality of not only the actions but also the actors in institutions. The typifications of habitualised actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones. They are available to all the members of the particular social groups in question, and the institution itself typifies individual actors as well as individual actions.

By its very nature social group membership is an institution and thus actions are restricted and controlled by social rules. This means that actions are largely

predictable within defined context. For example, people need to conform to systemic policies within their social settings. Yet institutionalisation of social order is also an ongoing process because human needs change and stability must be reasserted in the face of change. For instance, in Taiwan where the structures of family, education and health care are reforming so institutions such as laws and cultural norms are transforming so that social order is sustained.

Following habituation and institutionalisation, legitimation is a further social order making process (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This is an important strategy for ensuring social order because essential values, knowledge and explanations are all developed and provided for social members. There are four levels of legitimation defined by Berger and Luckmann (1966, pp. 94-95). The initial level is the development of linguistic objectifications system which is transmitted from people's experiences over generations. For example, a child is taught who her parents are and the relationship with her parents and then learns about relationships with other relatives. The second level of legitimation "contains theoretical propositions in a rudimentary form" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 94). For example, people are taught and expected to respect and take responsibility for their older parents in a Chinese society.

The third level of legitimation contains "explicit theories" which are transmitted by individuals who have specific knowledge. Finally, the fourth level of legitimisation is the development of symbolic universes for people. Symbolic universes are "bodies of theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the institutional order in a symbolic totality" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 95). The symbolic universe is seen as a historical product coming from the processes of objectivation, sedimentation and accumulation of people's knowledge. It integrates both objective and subjective meanings for individuals and collective groups and encompasses individual behaviours as "everything in its right place" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 98).

Hence institutions and rules are legitimated for social members who can then develop a sense of identity and belonging in relation to the social group. But in order to construct a better social environment for social members, the construction of meanings that are shared within the social group is an ongoing process and changes over time. This reflects the argument of Mead (1934) that people are intelligent actors and can produce practical solutions for problems and maintain order in continuously changing social organisations and institutions. Blumer (1971, p. 266) also stated that social problems are products of “a process of collective definition” and “as a set of objective social arrangements with an intrinsic makeup”.

What leads to social change comes from people’s interactions but is also shaped by external and internal forces. Internal force is used to deal with social problems that arise within the society. The term “social problem” was defined by Blumer (1971, p. 266) as a product “of a process of collective definition” and where legitimated policies are imposed to address social problems. An external force is used to deal with confrontations between societies. These propositions provide a vehicle for understanding the changing needs and social movements in Taiwanese, Indonesian and Vietnamese societies. Global capitalism and economic growth pose as the external forces that have brought about social institutional change in these three countries. Issues related to prosperity and the provision of long-term care need is conceived as the internal forces for social change. Legitimation, policies and social institutions therefore dominate social actions and behaviours around these social issues in the three countries. As Buckley and Ghauri (2004) point out globalisation across markets in different regions brings the challenges for policy makers to address institutional issues that are at once local, national, and international

Legitimation therefore has been central to the activities of both host and labour-sending countries in the pursuit of economic prosperity where women from less developed countries have been employed to fill the care gap in Taiwan. From a social constructionist perspective, historical contexts and contingent social relationships should be taken into consideration when exploring a social phenomenon (Friedman, 2006). Indeed, aged care in Taiwan was and is an obligation of adult children and this has been legitimated by Taiwanese law. The shift from

agrarian based to industrial society has seen the majority of adult women in Taiwan move into full-time employment thus removing traditional carers from the aged care system. Through the development of new policies, agreements and institutions foreign carers appeared as the solution to problems of aged care in Taiwan.

Changing social contexts and the behaviours of social members is not an easy process and can bring conflict and resistance (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Power structures therefore become the dominating factor that brings about or inhibits social change (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In the words of Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 109), a society that has “better weapons”, “more power” and a “bigger stick” “has a better chance of imposing his (sic) definitions of reality”. In this research, Taiwan represents the society with greater economic power and thus a superior negotiating position relative to the foreign carer source countries. Power relations are also a significant influence on negotiations and communications between foreign carers and Taiwanese host family members.

3.5.2 Cultural determination

As noted above, human beings are conceived as social beings and people therefore are influenced by the social institutions, environments and processes that they inhabit through their whole life. In investigating and conceptualising the theoretical understandings of this research, the issue of culture was central. Culture is one of orderly patterns and products of collaborative interactions (Dennis & Martin, 2007) and is a product of the social construction process within a historical context. Cultural analysis as related to aged care is relevant whereby culture shapes social institutions and provides guidance for people’s social actions. Dominance and resistance arise between participants from the differing socio-cultural background.

Goffman (1963a) stated that social values or norms are the foundations for people’s behaviours and apply to the intensity of people’s involvements. Culture is a shared perspective, a reality and a set of norms and expectations, that are recognised by people in a society setting and which provide a social context and guidance for actions. Moreover, culture can be a discourse of history or a selective tradition that is

constructed within the domain of social reality (Lessig, 1995). The rules and constraints of culture order the interactions and activities of people in a socially accepted manner (Goffman, 1963a). Indeed, culture not only determines people's actions but rather, influences meaning construction (Blumer, 1969).

Cultural construction is an ongoing process and changes over time through interactions, economic factors, contextual constraints and other features in a social environment. Because social contexts are determined by the taken-for-granted understanding and expectations of social members through habits and rituals, social context only can be reconstructed when the taken-for-granted understandings and expectations change. This may create conflict where only some individuals and part of a collective seek change.

As an example, the values and meanings that surround an ageing population in Taiwan may differ from those in Vietnamese or Indonesian societies. These, in turn, will shape actions and behaviours that may produce conflict in the context of the care for older people. When differing groups engage with one another, the structural disparities emerge and as a result cultural values are often elaborated and strengthened (Dennis & Martin, 2007). Intergroup cultural relations were an obvious element for exploration in this research where issues related to the in-group (Taiwanese) and out-groups (foreign carers) were critical. For example, the perceptions between looking after older parents and being paid to look after older people might be different. Indeed, taking care of older parents in Taiwan is the formal obligation of adult sons. This principle is embedded in the Chinese cultural trait of filial piety. According to Russell (1938, p. 155), filial piety is a "positive morality" that exists as a social institution and has a power of moral compulsive force analogous to law. Filial piety therefore has its power to restrain the behaviours of social members and to ensure that older people are supported with economic and social resources provided by family relatives. In practice, Taiwanese women have assumed the responsibility for the household and thus the filial obligation has traditionally been transferred from sons to daughters-in-law. Yet the employment of foreign carers for older parents at home is a social act whereby women are responding to both social expectation and social change.

Industrialisation, globalisation and new institutions have not only reshaped aged care practices in Taiwan, but also the roles of mother, daughter-in-law and wife in Indonesia and Vietnam. For many women in developing countries working overseas is considered a taken-for-granted option. Yet in so doing, this does not mean that the cultural roles and social expectations of Indonesian and Vietnamese immigrant women are relinquished, but that these women act in different ways to fulfil their cultural responsibilities as do the Taiwanese women. Both Taiwanese women and foreign carers act on the basis of the situations they face and also the possible consequences for the future. In other words, humans do not passively conform to an external world but actively construct their social worlds (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934).

3.6 SYMBOL, LANGUAGE AND SOCIALISATION

Both symbolic interactionism and social constructionism posit symbols, gestures, words and languages as human-made and as essential systems of human expression. The conversion of gestures and the use of symbols are two typical forms of social interaction (Mead, 1934). How people act and what they say result from their interpretations and responses to others in the world. Therefore, symbols are vehicles that can typify people's experiences, be detached from the face-to-face situation and have the capacity to transcend the reality of everyday life. Moreover, objective meanings of signs and symbols are constructed, understood and shared (Chaon, 2006; Kumar, 2005). In other words, the shared meanings of symbols are "social products formed through activities of people interacting" (Blumer, 1969, p. 5) and these shared meanings of symbols enable people to communicate intentionally with others (Chaon, 2006). The most common and significant system of symbols or gesture is language, which has attached taken-for-granted meanings for social members (Mead, 1934). In order to understand the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for Taiwanese older people at homes, issues related to participant symbols and languages use and social interactions become a focus of analysis.

Berger and Luckmann (1966) indicated that the characteristics of typifying, detaching and transcending language are what allow for externalisation and transference from subjective meaning to objective meaning and back and forth; they also help people to understand the environment in which they live by using the systemic symbols of language and experiencing their subjectivity to their collaborator and themselves and to understand that any reality of everyday life is to understand the language and language use (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Mead (1934) pointed out that mind and self and society are significantly interrelated in the social life of a human being and the relationship between an individual and society is inseparable. Mind and the presence of self are developed by conducting social interactions via symbol and gesture use in a society and language is the most important vocal gesture (Mead, 1934). Berger and Luckmann (1966) also explained that an individual is influenced by a system of objective intelligibility and reality and then creates their own subjective reality. Indeed, an individual constructs the society as reality through symbols and language use (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Language also plays an important role in internalisation of social members. Attitude-taking and role-taking are conducted by internalisation in the process of primary socialisation and this reflects Mead's perspective that an individual's self is formed through conversation and language use. Furthermore, the process of internalisation happens to every social member. We learn through conducting social interactions and conversation with significant others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burke & Stets, 2005; Searle, 2006). At the same time, identities and reality are also built (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burke & Stets, 2005).

Language is also essential for the secondary socialisation process as it is the acquisition of role-specific knowledge. The secondary socialisation process occurs because of "the complexity of the division of labour and the concomitant social distribution" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 138). For an individual, specific knowledge is needed to meet the requirements of different divisions of labour and language is the tool for transmitting specific knowledge. It is the internalisation of institutional worlds and the legitimisation and socio-historical features that can influence an individual's secondary socialisation process. For example, an individual

is restricted by learning processes, rituals and social levels that are socially constructed as some kinds of social structure and orders. Indeed, an individual perceives and transforms their subjective reality in their secondary socialisation process through conversations and social interactions with others (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

It is thus, because of language, that people can conduct conversations and socialisation and develop self and mind with self-conscious and self-control. It is also because of language that tradition and the stock of social knowledge is transmitted from generation to generation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). People then speak their native language with taken-for-granted knowledge and thus their constructed social meanings and realities are shared with others while communicating (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Indeed, the symbolism and power of language underpins national identity (Lessig, 1995) because the identities of social members are defined and captured through the process of socialisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In the same way, the national flag, anthem and emblem are used to proclaim identity and dominion over of an independent country and its nationals (Hobsbawm, 1983). When foreign carers speak a second language by compulsion, they are made aware of coercion and of being apart from the dominant group for whom the language is theirs. These people may have difficulty understanding “commonsense knowledge” and also engaging in a taken-for-granted reality about everyday life in Taiwan. Therefore, language carries political power when language is regulated as a tool to promote a national identity (Bourdieu, 1991; Lessig, 1995).

Shared meaning of symbols is emphasised within the social process of communication (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934) and further, elements of symbol use and context are seen as essential features related to social status as symbols and language are used to create, maintain, and transmit status differences (Goffman, 1951; Sauder, 2005). Chinese or Taiwanese language, as spoken in the home country, is a symbol of the superior status of the Taiwanese families over their Indonesian or Vietnamese carers. Following this concept, issues related to different cultural and social backgrounds are also crucial.

The relevance of the above to this research is that an exploration of interactions and language use provides insights into the social reality under research. The foreign carers from Indonesia and Vietnam, and the Taiwanese employers and older people, hold different social values and social expectations as constructed within their respective cultural contexts. Moreover, speaking Chinese and Taiwanese for foreign carers create different social meanings within this same context. It involves power relations and political issues.

3.7 IDENTITY AND AGENCY

As noted above, a social member is formed within a social context. The concept of socialisation explains how an individual is formed by their social environment to perform and act properly as a social member. For Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 173), “identity is formed by social processes” and “the social processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure”.

Indeed, having an identity or feeling that one is a member of a group or social category is crucial to an individual and this identity channels the decision-making of that individual (Powers, 2004). People relate to a specific group because of his or her group membership and these products of identity are constructed from subjective experiences and objective categories (Adams & Afi Dzokoto, 2003; Berger & Luckmann, 1966, Cerulo, 1997). Therefore, the question of “who am I” not only arises in the consciousness subjectively, but is influenced and socially constructed as reflected in the words of Berger and Luckmann (1966, p. 173);

The identities produced by the interplay of organism, individual consciousness and social structure react upon the given social structure maintaining it, or even reshaping it.

For some symbolic interactionists, internalised roles are viewed as identities and the role-identity and self-conceptions are linked to social structure. As Stryker (1979, p. 177) stated “the self is seen as embracing multiple identities linked to the roles and role relationships that constitute significant elements of social structures”.

For other symbolic interactionists, the concept of identity is attached to the vast domain of meanings related to the self and comprising the content of self-concepts. It focuses on a “social situation as the context in which identities are established and maintained through the process of negotiations” (Gecas, 1982, p. 10). Therefore, “defining the situation” and “constructing reality” while conducting identity negotiation are emphasised as central tasks of a social actor (Blumstein, 1973). This means that the construction of identities for self and others are based on the interaction and involvement of all participants within a situation.

The identity issue is relevant to this research because the foreign carers faced stigmatisation because of their race, ethnicity and nationality when working in Taiwan. These carers were “imprisoned in the objective reality” of Taiwanese society (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 165). The stigmatised identities are socially controlled in Taiwan and come to be institutionally programmed in the form of discourse and in the operation of social control. Thus, this discourse may be harmful in the working situations of foreign carers in Taiwan. These social determinations and identity issues were analytically important in generating theoretical understandings of the research context.

Following the concept of identity, the concept of agency is an essential feature of every social actor when conducting action. Even though social institutions and norms are important in determining behaviours and actions of social members, a social member also has the capacity or agency to take control independently. The notion of agency asserts that people have the ability to choose and to take some control on the basis of their reflexivity (Cote & Levine, 2002). In other words, human beings do not conduct social interactions as passive actors influenced by the external world. On the contrary, human beings have the self-conscious capacity to conduct communication, social interaction and role-taking. As Mead (1934) indicated, human beings are distinguished from other creatures in having a “mind” and with their minds and capacity for thinking, they have a significant degree of autonomy to actively formulate and shape their own behaviour. Therefore, human beings define situations (Charon, 2007), respond to and give meaning to interactions, all of which shape future actions (Blumer, 1969).

With agency, an individual can be seen as a completely autonomous individual who exercises action with freedom. Hence, the concept of agency is related to notions of resistance, motivation, desire, practice and the shaping of power (Frank, 2006). This power is “not only at work when it is exercised intentionally and positively”, but “agents can have power that they never exercise and they can have the power the effects of which they do not intend” (Hayward & Lukes, 2008, p. 7).

The concept of agency is integral to the theoretical framework in this research because it allows for a focus on participant decision making related to the employment of a foreign carer and on negotiations around working as a foreign carer in Taiwan. How participants act, reshape and renegotiate their relationships by taking account of different domains and interpreting their significance in terms of future actions are essential elements in this research.

3.8 SUMMARY

The research framework draws together some key theoretical concepts that have their origins in the broad tradition of symbolic interaction and in the social constructionist work of Berger and Luckmann. What is significant in the construction of the theoretical lens is an emphasis on the interconnectedness of the structural and interactionist dimensions of the research context. In so arguing the chapter places emphasis on symbols, language and historical, cultural, social and political context.

In the following chapter, the methods applied in the research as informed by Charmaz’s work are explained in detail and justified. A systematic overview of the research process including data collection and analysis and theory generation are important to explore the research topic. Charmaz’s formulation of the specific qualitative methodology provides this research with clear instructions and flexibility. The historical background and key tenets of her product are important and will be discussed.

Chapter 4: Methods

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter addressed the theoretical lens through which this research engaged with the phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwan. This chapter details and justifies the methods that were adopted in the research process and as they were informed by Charmaz's (2006) work. The chapter is organised around the key elements of the research process; participant selection, data collection, data analysis and theory generation. The discussion moves then to issues related to ethics and rigour.

4.2 BACKGROUND TO CHARMAZ'S ANALYTIC WORK

While the organisation of this chapter is linear in its structure, the phases of the research were undertaken largely concurrently. The research elements were participant selection, data generation, data coding, memo-writing and theory construction. The overall objective was to develop theoretical propositions from data analysis that reflected the interrelationships between the core category and analytical dimensions and concepts.

Charmaz's (2006, 2008, 2009) analytic work was based on grounded theory and there are significant characteristics of grounded theory that distinguish this approach from other qualitative methods. As background, grounded theory came into existence 40 years ago as a result of the work of Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss. The impetus of these theorists for developing a grounded theory methodology came out of their 1950s and 1960s collaboration in researching dying in the hospital setting. As they constructed their analyses so they formulated systematic methodological procedures that were published in two books: *Awareness of Dying* (1956) and *Time for Dying* (1968). The authors seminal publication, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967), was subsequently published and thus the approach of grounded theory as a distinct research methodology appeared.

For Glaser (2008), the dominant positivist methods sought to produce ‘truth’ by testing extant theory, which it was argued, constrained research to the parameters of existing knowledge. On the contrary, the appeal of grounded theory was that it turned directly and immediately to the data, which meant that data, and not extant theory, was the foundation for developing knowledge. In Glaser’s (1978, p.93) words, the goal was to “generate a theory that accounts for a pattern of behaviour which is relevant and problematic for those involved”

From the 1960s through to the 1990s grounded theory methodology has continued to evolve and has assumed various forms as evidenced in the publications of Glaser (2008; 1978), Strauss and Corbin (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998) and more recently, Clarke (2005) and Charmaz (2006). This evolution reflects very broadly a shift from an objectivist stance to a constructivist framing and a postmodern turn.

Four decades on, grounded theory methodology has come to dominate interpretive qualitative research and is applied across a wide range of disciplines and subject areas (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Morse, 2009; Thomas & James, 2006). Charmaz published her qualitative research work, *Constructing grounded theory*, in 2006 and it is this version that has been brought to this research. Charmaz’s publication was deemed persuasive because it distinguishes between the real and the true. The approach “does not seek truth, universal and lasting” but “remains realist because it addresses human realities and assumes the existence of real world” (Charmaz, 2003a, p. 272). This specific approach is also a more creative than objectivist or technique based approach. This research sought to construct significant meanings surrounding the employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwanese society rather than reveal some concealed truths. Furthermore, this approach provides a frame that combines flexibility and explicitness for exploring social phenomena. In the words of Charmaz (2003a, p. 251):

Grounded theory strategies need not be rigid or prescriptive; a focus on meaning while using grounded theory furthers, rather than limits, interpretive understanding; and we can adopt grounded theory strategies without embracing the positivist leanings of earlier proponents of grounded theory.

Furthermore, while classical grounded theory assumes a minimalist and therefore largely neutral role of researcher, Charmaz (2003a, p. 273) indicates that “the viewer creates the data and ensuing analysis through interaction with the viewed.” Indeed, the “researcher and subjects frame that interactions and confer meaning upon it” (Charmaz, 2003a, p. 273). In other words, researchers produce knowledge that rests on social constructions and those constructions are influenced by researcher perspectives, privileges, positions, interactions, and geographical locations (Charmaz, 2009, pp. 127-154). It thus assumes that the interactions between a researcher and participants (or any form data form) are integral to the construction of theoretical understandings. This meant that this research needed always to be open to the range of possibilities in analysis and to the ways in which researcher perspectives, interpretations and interactions with the participants (or any data) influenced the research direction and outcomes. The issue here is one of reflexivity which, in the words of Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009, p. 269):

...means thinking about the conditions for what one is doing, investigating the way in which the theoretical, cultural and political context of individual and intellectual involvement affects interaction with whatever is being researched, often in ways that are difficult to become conscious of.

In the conduct of this research, Charmaz’s framework was applied to guide the inductive stage of data analysis in the form of initial and focused coding. These processes generated early conceptual ideas that guided the collection of further data from other sources in order to add depth to the analysis. The generated categories and subcategories were then contextualised through the theoretical lens of social constructionism. As such the analysis moved to a deductive exploration of significant findings. This chapter now turns to a detailed exposition of the research methods.

4.3 PARTICIPANT SAMPLING

Morse (1995, p. 80) indicated that the concepts of “appropriateness” and “adequacy” are principle guides for qualitative sampling where “appropriateness is derived from the identification and use of the participants who can best inform the

research according to the theoretical requirements of the research”. In relation to the former concept, initial sampling was purposive and as data collection and analysis proceeded sampling was guided theoretically. Purposive sampling saw the recruitment of participants on the basis of their roles, experiences and knowledge. It was critical that the participants have an in-depth understanding of the focus of the inquiry and that they were willing to share their experiences.

Morse (1995) also argued that adequacy meant to reach saturation point in terms of research findings. An important argument here, however, is that the achievement of saturation relies largely on conjecture of the researcher and is also difficult, if not impossible, to test (Charmaz, 2006). Thus, rather than adhere to the concept of saturation, adequacy in this research refers to theoretical sufficiency. “Theoretical sufficiency”, as suggested by Dey (1999, p. 257), refers to an adequate depth of data to depict the development of conceptual ideas through coding procedures.

A further and significant method, theoretical sampling, was introduced after tentative categories were constructed through initial data analysis. The methods of theoretical sampling and constant comparison assisted in the conceptualisation of categories and the collection of further data for clarifying questions, checking categories and filling out the properties of the categories (Charmaz, 2006a; Glaser, 1978). The strategy of theoretical sampling facilitated the ongoing recruitment of participants and the development of questions that were related to specific theoretical ideas. This meant adding and changing interview questions and the recruitment of different groups of participants to meet the needs of theory development.

Thus more interviews with participants were undertaken to collect focused data. For example, early in the field work of the researcher and following two focus group interviews with ten family employers and in-depth interviews with 29 employer participants, there appeared some potentially intriguing issues around relationships, negotiations and management between foreign carers, family employers and older persons receiving care. These issues presented as important features in influencing

the everyday experiences of family employer participants. As a result, the researcher shifted the data collection to in-depth interviews with 13 foreign carers and 15 older persons receiving care. The later interviews were conducted to explore further power relations that existed and were negotiated between the three participant groups.

4.4 SAMPLING CRITERIA

The participants for this research were family employers of foreign carers, foreign carers and older people who were cared for by foreign carers in households. Fifty-seven participants were recruited in total for the research (see Table 4.1). The criteria for participant inclusion were as follows.

Family employer participants were:

- family members who had employed foreign carers to care for older relatives at home; and
- spouses, sons, daughters, sons-in-law or daughters-in-law of older persons receiving care.

Older participants were:

- Taiwanese aged 65 years old and older;
- those cared for by a foreign carer in the household for a period of 6 months or more; and
- those with the capacity to give full and informed consent for an interview.

Foreign carers were those:

- from Indonesia and Vietnam;
- employed by Taiwanese host families for a period of one year or more;
- living with the older persons receiving care as care providers; and
- who could communicate in Taiwanese or Chinese.

Foreign carers who were employed by Taiwanese host families for a period of one year or more and could communicate in Taiwanese or Chinese were purposefully recruited for a number of reasons. Firstly, foreign carer participants who could speak Chinese or Taiwanese were more likely to have remained in Taiwan for longer periods of time and to have had various experiences living in Taiwan. Furthermore, the researcher was not fluent in either the Vietnamese or Indonesian languages.

4.5 PARTICIPANTS

There is little definitive information on the number of participants or interviews considered sufficient in qualitative research in the generation of theoretical findings. The concept of “theoretical saturation”, noted above, has its origins in traditional grounded theory and refers to a point in the analysis where a researcher ceases data collection on the basis that categories appear saturated or when no new properties are found (Charmaz, 2006). The point of “saturation” is, however, by its very nature somewhat arbitrary and dependent upon decisions on the part of researcher about the point at which analysis is exhausted. As such, scholars have provided differing criteria. Charmaz (2006) has suggested that 25 interviews may suffice for small projects. Bertaux (1981) indicated that 15 participants is the smallest acceptable sample size in qualitative research and Creswell (1998) considers that a range of between 20 to 30 interviews is appropriate for a grounded theory research. Morse (1994) extended this range out to 30 to 50 interviews for grounded theory studies.

On this point, Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006) conducted evidence based research to explore the question of how many qualitative interviews are sufficient. They concluded that research data can become fairly complete and stable after 12 interviews. But these authors also acknowledged that sample size is dependent upon the area under investigation and the context. They conclude that a sample of 60 interviews may be needed to develop meaningful “themes” and useful interpretations. Based on the determination of theoretical sufficiency, or the generation of sufficient data to enable an in-depth analysis of the research topic, two focus group interviews and 54 in-depth interviews with 57 participants of family employers, foreign carers

and older persons receiving care were deemed necessary to develop meaningful theoretical understandings of the social processes underpinning the phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan.

Two focus group interviews were conducted with ten family employer participants. The seven female and three male family employers included three daughters-in-law, three daughters, one wife, two sons and one son-in-law were recruited. The age distribution was 31-40 years (two participants); 41-50 years (five participants); 51-60 years (two participants); and 71-80 years (one participants).

Further to this, fifty-four individual interviews were conducted with 19 family employer participants, 15 older persons receiving care participants and 13 foreign carer participants. The demographic data in relation to the 19 family employer participants is as follows (see Appendix A). Thirteen female and six male family employer participants included nine daughters-in-law, three daughters, one wife, five sons and one husband were interviewed. The age distribution was 30-40 years (three participants); 41-50 years (six participants); 51-60 years (three participants); 61-70 years (three participants); and 71-80 years (4 participants). The duration of employment of foreign carers was from one to 15 years.

The demographic data acquired for the 15 older persons receiving care participants was as follows (see Appendix B). Four male and eleven female older persons receiving care participants were interviewed; three were 71-80 years old, and twelve were aged 81-90 years old. Five participants lived alone with their foreign carers; five participants lived with their spouses (husband) and foreign carers; and ten participants resided with their foreign carers and other younger relatives. Two older persons receiving care were cared for by their Vietnamese carers and the remaining 13 older persons receiving care participants were cared for by Indonesian women. The duration of being cared for by foreign carers varied from eight months to over 12 years.

The two Vietnamese carers and 11 Indonesian carer participants interviewed in this research were women (see Appendix C). The age distribution was 20-30 years (five participants); 31-40 years (seven participants); and 41-50 years (one participant). One carer was single, and five foreign carer participants were single mothers with one to four children, and seven foreign carer participants were married with zero to three children. They had a range of 4-16.5 years of working experience abroad. Five foreign carer participants had only overseas working experience in Taiwan and eight foreign carer participants had working overseas experiences in two to four countries.

Table 4-1 *Participant summary*

Family employers (n=29)	Older persons receiving care (n=15)	Foreign carers (n= 13)	Total (n=57)
Female: 20	Female:11	Indonesian female: 11	42
Male: 9	Male: 4	Vietnamese: 2	15

4.6 RECRUITMENT OF PARTICIPANTS

Five family employers, ten older persons receiving care and ten foreign carers were accessed through the home care units of the Dalin and Meishan Township Public Health Centres. The Dalin and Meishan Township Public Health Centres are located in the Chiayi County in the South of Taiwan. The populations of Dalin and Meishan townships were, at the time of the research, approximately 33,000 and 21,000 people respectively. The two health centres provided health clinic and home care services, health prevention and promotion services for about 17,950 families. These two public health centres were also local long-term care management centres and local family members needed to submit applications to these centres prior to employing foreign carers. Thus, all foreign carers and their host families were managed by these two centres. Public community nurses from the two centres

assumed responsibility for foreign carer management. They undertook some home visiting to ensure that foreign carers were delivering care responsibly but rarely provided nursing care.

Potential participants were invited through the following recruitment process. The researcher met home care nurse managers and nurses who provided home care for older patients. On receiving approval from the nurse managers, the researcher contacted potential participants in public health centres or conducted home visits with home care nurses. The nurse manager also gave the researcher's contact details to potential participants where the researcher was not immediately available. Interested persons were asked to contact the researcher in order to make an appointment to discuss the research in more detail and to answer any questions or concerns. A mutually suitable time and place for interview was arranged for each participant.

The researcher also visited Hsin-Son Park, which is located in Taitung County, several times a week to meet foreign carers and to build relationships. Two foreign carer participants were recruited through this process. Snow ball sampling was also applied and further potential participants were introduced by those participants who had already taken part in the research. Interested persons contacted the researcher to make an appointment to discuss the details of this research. Further appointments were made for data collection. As indicated above, in total 13 foreign carers were recruited.

In order to recruit participants from different locations in Taiwan, the researcher also used personal social networks to conduct focus group interviews. The first focus group interview was conducted in a police bureau in Taitung County. The researcher knew one policeman who had employed a foreign carer at home for his mother. Research information about the focus group interview was provided to this policeman and subsequently potential participants were introduced by this policeman in the police bureau. Over 300 policemen, administrators and other employees were working in the police bureau in Taitung County. Six workers in this police bureau

participated in the focused group interview which was conducted in the meeting room of the police bureau.

The second focus group participants were recruited by using a similar process. A teacher of an elementary school in Taoyuan County introduced potential participants to the researcher. The researcher provided research information for potential participants who were colleagues working at the same elementary school. As a result, four participants agreed to participate in the second focus group interview. The family employer focus group participants were friends and/or colleagues and this meant that participants were likely to be more comfortable in sharing their experiences with others within the respective groups.

Two further employer participants were recruited through the website of the Family Caregiver Support Association after the researcher placed the research information on the website. These two participants made contact with the researcher through email to discuss the details and make appointments for interviews. Interviews were conducted in eight out of twenty administrative regions in Taiwan and thus participants from across these regions provided a variety of experiences and perspectives for this research.

4.7 DATA COLLECTION

In order to generate rich data, focus group interviews and in-depth interviews were conducted with spouses, sons, daughters, daughters-in-law, and sons-in-law of those older people being cared for by foreign carers. Employers were recruited where they were identified as the main family caregivers and the employers of foreign carers in Taiwan. Furthermore, in order to collect further data from different perspectives and directions, in-depth interviews with older persons receiving care and foreign carers were undertaken.

Interviews were conducted in the native language of the researcher, either Chinese or Taiwanese. In order to reduce potential issues around power relations, the

researcher invested time in building relationships with foreign carers before undertaking interviews. These relationships were developed within public spaces where foreign carers routinely gather to talk and eat.

All interviews were recorded and soon after transcribed by the researcher. In so doing, the researcher listened and re-listened to the audio data and viewed and reviewed the transcriptions to ensure engagement with the data. Focus group interviews with family employers were conducted first and produced through interactive discussions initial insight into their life experiences and support issues related to aged care family relationships and the management of foreign carers. The researcher then moved on to conduct in-depth interviews with the three groups of participants and generated research data from various perspectives.

4.7.1 Focus group interviews

Each of the focus groups consisted of four to six family employers of foreign carers. There are no definitive guidelines on the ideal number of focus group participants. There is, however, very broad agreement that anywhere between 4-12 participants will allow for an adequate level of discussion and is a manageable size (Jamieson & Williams, 2003; Krueger & Casey, 2000; Rabiee, 2004; Seggern & Young, 2003).

This data collection method was useful for a number of reasons. First, the focus group interview was useful in exploring the context of the knowledge surrounding the experience of the employment of foreign carers in private homes. As the starting point of data collection, a collectively constructed voice (Smithson, 2000) through the focus groups provided insight into the socially dominant or public perceptions surrounding the research focus. The production of a collective view was important given the social and cultural dimensions of the research focus. The individual interviews that followed, by contrast, explored the spectrum of knowledge and the diversity of experiences within the research context.

Second, this method was useful because the researcher had minimal beginning knowledge on the research topic. The collective voice, noted above, introduced the researcher to the public world of inquiry even if from one perspective; that of employers of foreign carers. The knowledge gained from these data provided a first level of interpretation that could be challenged by data generation from different perspectives (Alvesson& Skoldberg, 2009).

Finally, the focus group was useful in generating data through the lens of symbolic interactionism. Because the active aspects of human social life are emphasised through interaction, the interactions and active construction of meanings through conversations in focus groups can be accessed (Barbour, 2007).

In this research, focus group interviews were only conducted with family employer participants because they had the necessary flexibility that allowed for participation. By contrast foreign carers and older persons receiving care were largely isolated and constrained to the domestic settings and the foreign carers, in particular, were hesitant about speaking publically.

As noted, focus group interviews were organised by one of the group members and group members were friends or co-workers who had known each other for a long period of time. As such, participants were more likely to reveal and share their experiences with others within the focus group. The role of the researcher was to facilitate participant interaction and to make sure that participants talked amongst themselves rather than discuss only with the researcher. Moreover, the guidelines for conducting focus groups and a series of open-ended questions were prepared by the researcher. The interview processes were recorded and the researcher also collected data by observing participant interactions. The data were recorded and transcribed in the language of the participants for the purposes of initial data analysis.

The demographic data acquired from the ten participants is as follows (see table 4.2, and 4.3). Seven female and three male family employer participants

included three daughters-in-law, three daughters, one wife, two sons and one son-in-law. The age distribution was 30-40 years (two participants); 41-50 years (five participants); 51-60 years (two participants); and 71-80 years (one participant). Among these 10 family employers, eight were employing Indonesian carers and two were employing Filipina carers. The older relatives' of these family employer participants were aged 65-70 years (two older relatives); 71-80 years (three older relatives); and 81-90 years (five older relatives). The duration of employment of foreign carers was from one to 13 years.

Table 4-2 *Focus Group 1 in Taitung County Police Bureau: 100 minutes*

Participant	Relationship				Carer	
	Participant	Age	Older persons receiving care	Age	Nationality	age
1	Daughter in law	50	Father in law	82	Filipina	36
2	Daughter	52	Mother	80	Indonesian	29
3	Son in law	42	Mother in law	70	Indonesian	26
4	Son	42	Father	68	Indonesian	30
5	Daughter	46	Mother	78	Indonesian	32
6	Son	40	Father	73	Indonesian	28

Table 4-3 *Focus Group 2 in Taoyuan counties: 90 minutes*

Participant	Relationship				Carer	
	Participant	Age	Older persons receiving care	Age	Nationality	age
7	Daughter in law	56	Father in law	85	Filipina	40
8	Daughter in law	45	Mother in law	83	Indonesian	28
9	Daughter	38	Father	80	Indonesian	29
10	Spouse (wife)	72	Spouse (husband)	82	Indonesian	30

In summary, while only two focus group groups were conducted the collective voice of the group interviews was a starting point that would hopefully bring ambiguities and tensions to the analysis as more theoretically focused data were generated through individual interviews. The focus group data was a fragment of the social reality under research.

4.7.2 In-depth interviews

A further fragment of the social reality of the research situation was produced through individual interviews. The in-depth interviews provided flexibility for both researcher and participants and provided a framework that encouraged participants to share their experiences of employing foreign carers in the home or working as a foreign carer in Taiwan. Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) argued that in-depth interviews are useful when the researcher requires thick descriptions of social life. Indeed, participants' perspectives, thoughts, experiences, meanings, and interpretations are considered best explored through the conduct of in-depth interviews (Charmaz, 2003b; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006; Liamputtong, 2009). Furthermore, this flexible data-collection strategy fitted well with Charmaz's (2003b) method. In-depth interviews allowed the researcher to both explore broadly the area under research and to take more control to narrow the range of interview topics in collecting focused data as a strategy of theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2003b; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

Prior to conducting in-depth interviews, several open ended questions were posed that broadly related to decision-making around employing a foreign carer, the experiences of living with and being cared for by foreign carers and working as a foreign carer in Taiwan (see Appendix A and B). Interview questions and interview processes ensured that the interview remained focused on the research aims. In keeping with focused coding and theoretical sampling, the interviews became more refined as the research proceeded. All interviews were conducted face to face and the duration of these conversations ranged from 35-200 minutes. The interviews were conducted in community venues or in the homes of participants.

It was also considered important to the researcher to build effective relationships with participants, engage in conversational style interviews and employ good listening skills in order to hear participants' perspectives and life experiences.

Examples of research questions posed are as follows:

- Tell me about how you came to employ a foreign carer/ **came to Taiwan as a carer for older people?**

- Can you describe the process whereby you came to employ a foreign carer/
work as a carer in Taiwan?
- Can you describe the ways in which this changed your life and the life of your family?
- Can you describe how you manage your relationship with the foreign carer/
older person receiving care and Taiwanese host family members?
- Can you tell me the most important lessons you have learned about your experience of employing a foreign carer at home/ **working as a carer in Taiwan?**
- Additional questions to encourage participants to share their experiences were presented during the interviews.

The researcher travelled to Taiwan three times to conduct data collection between December 2009 and February 2011. Firstly, two focus groups and five in-depth interviews with family employers were completed in the initial phase in December 2009. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in the language of the participants for the purposes of data analysis. A portion of transcriptions were translated into English for the purposes of supervisor/student discussion. A second data collection phase was undertaken during April to September 2011 with family employers and older persons receiving care. A third data collection phase was undertaken from December 2011 to February 2012 with older persons receiving care and foreign carers. Before conducting further data collection, initial analysis was undertaken and the research directions and questions reconsidered and refined to increase the quality of data. One advantage of Chamaz's (2006) research method is that a researcher can add more information and collect more data in the analytical stage. Ongoing data analysis indicated the need for clarification and further exploration.

4.8 DATA ANALYSIS

Although data collection techniques are emphasised in qualitative research, theoretical analysis was at the heart of the approach assumed in this research. Indeed, this meant that the analysis, while inductive at the outset, incorporated a deductive phase as initial significant theoretical concepts were tested out through further and focused data collection and through theoretical analysis. The development of a

theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people at home was the goal of this research. Therefore, the endeavour was to construct research findings that were both empirically and theoretically grounded. Coding and memo-writing were two essential strategies in the development of theoretical propositions. The constant comparison method was also applied during the data analysis. Further details of these procedures are provided in following two sections.

4.9 CODING

As Strauss and Corbin (1990, p. 57) so well stated, “coding represents the operations by which data are broken down, conceptualized, and put back together in new ways”. The data coding phases of this research drew firstly on the work of Charmaz (2006). The steps applied in disaggregating and reaggregating data were initial and focused coding. These early phases prompted the researcher to think and to ask analytic questions of the data. Understanding of the social phenomena thus developed early on and this understanding defined the direction of further data collection. At the level of what Charmaz (2006) refers to as theoretical coding the process turned to social constructionism as the lens through which to draw the concluding and most significant analytical ideas in the research.

The final phase noted above is not far removed from Charmaz’s (2006) argument that conceptual ideas can be seen as the “bones” of the analysis and the theoretical integration process is to gather these “bones” together into a framework. Where the current research diverges from Charmaz is in shifting from inductive coding to an overtly theoretical driven final level analysis. Here the assimilation of theory and literature as data and participant data provided what Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009) refer to as a richness in points. This means that while the analysis is clearly linked to empirical data it must move beyond what the data has to say. As Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009, p. 305) argued: “(t)he data can be said to *enable* and support interpretaion, rather than unequivocally lead up to it”. As such codes formed the essential bridge between data and theoretical outcomes. A further data source was memoing whereby an interrogation of codes from various rich points was recorded.

Data comparison, theoretical interpretation and memo writing continued throughout the research process. A critical element was the iterative nature of the analysis where earlier interpretations were challenged as alternative meanings developed.

4.9.1 Initial coding

Initial coding, as the first analytical phase, involved naming each word, line or segment in the data. This strategy assisted in separating data into categories and to check the process. Moreover, it moved the researcher toward decisions about defining the core conceptual categories. Indeed, careful initial coding moved the researcher toward fulfilling two criteria for completing an analysis: fit and relevance. The research fitted the empirical world where the researcher constructed codes and developed them into categories that crystallised participant experiences (Charmaz, 2006).

Questions were used to guide the initial coding process and to encourage the researcher to look at the data critically and analytically. These questions included:

What is this data a research of ? (Glaser, 1978, p. 57); What does the data suggest?; From whose point of view? (Charmaz, 2006, p. 47); How does this process develop?; When, why, and how does the process change? What are the consequences of the process? (Charmaz, 2006, p. 51); What category does this incident indicate ? (Glaser, 1978, p. 57).

Two types of initial coding of in-depth interviews and focus group interviews, line-by-line coding, and incident to incident coding, were undertaken. Furthermore, the transcripts of in-depth interviews and focus group interviews were the data. Furthermore, the transcripts in Mandarin were used for first level data analysis. In so doing, the researcher could stay close to the data and there was less risk of language and cultural distortions. These data were first broken down and sorted in order to construct codes through the use of line-by-line coding.

- Line-by-line coding:

The line-by-line coding was commenced as soon as possible following the collection and transcription of data. When dealing with early interview data by line-by-line coding, the researcher had the chance to adhere closely to participants' opinions and to understand participants' situations through the details of data (Charmaz, 2006). An instruction code was put into the transcript when conducting line-by-line coding and the researcher therefore could readily go back to the data and review the transcript through the use of codes (see Table 4.7). Moreover, Charmaz (2006, p. 50) outlined the procedures of line-by-line coding as follows:

breaking the data up into their component parts or properties;
defining the actions on which they rest
looking for tacit assumptions;
explicating implicit actions and meanings;
crystallizing the significance of the points;
comparing data with data; and
identifying gaps in the data.

- Incident to incident coding

The following phase was where comparisons began and so incidents were compared with incidents to conceptualise codes which helped in the identification of the developing concepts. The "constant comparative method" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) here was used to build analytic work. Making comparisons between incidents in the same and different interviews, between earlier and later interviews of the same participant and between events in different places or different times were used to gain more analytical insights and awareness of the concepts (Charmaz, 2003b, 2006).

The codes that were established here helped the researcher understand what was happening and to discover convergences and tensions. The researcher first compared and coded similar events and then defined subtle patterns and significant processes. Comparisons with dissimilar events then occurred and this procedure brought new insights to the research. This was reflected in Charmaz's (2006, p. 55) words that "coding forces you to think about the material in new ways that may

differ from your research participants' interpretations". An example is provided (see table 4.4).

Table 4-4 *Example of initial coding*

Transcript	Initial codes
<p>請你分享在什麼情況下開始雇用外籍勞工? A11I1C1(A: Group A; I: Interview; C: Code) 我爺爺本來就有傷口有插尿管，當時我婆婆身體 OK，所以可以互相幫忙。</p> <p>A11I1C2 去年我婆婆忽然輕微中風，她本來是我們家的主要照顧者，家裡的大小事都是我婆在處理。</p> <p>A11I1C3 他突然中風後，家人開始協商要誰照顧，其實我們比較希望是自己人照顧。</p> <p>A11I1C4, A11I1C5, A11I1C6, A11I1C7 一來我沒辦法，二來我小姑也覺得他不要，他寧願去做自己想做的事，雖然那時候他還沒有工作。我很堅持的跟我先生講，因為同事有人有請過外勞，我覺得是 OK 的，我覺得我比較堅持告訴我先生說，我們還是要有人，不然我們照顧不來。</p>	<p>A11I1C1 照顧需求</p> <p>A11I1C2 主要照顧者本身健康問題</p> <p>A11I1C3 期待媳婦或女兒自行照顧</p> <p>A11I1C4 媳婦 女兒拒絕放棄事業 A11I1C5 媳婦建議雇用外勞 A11I1C6 同事同質經驗 A11I1C7 缺乏照顧人力</p>
<p>A11I1C1 My grandfather has wounds and an indwelling catheter, which requires care from other people.</p> <p>A11I1C2 This was not a problem when my mother-in-law was well, as she was able to look after those. My mother-in-law was the main carer in the family and she dealt with everything. Unfortunately, she had a small stroke last year.</p> <p>A11I1C3 After the stroke, we started to discuss who should look after my mother-in-law and grandfather. Although we really hoped that one of the family members could take care of them, the fact was that nobody was able to.</p> <p>A11I1C4, A11I1C5 I had to work and my younger sister-in-law also wanted to focus on her own career, although she had not got one by then.</p> <p>A11I1C6 I have a colleague who had employed a foreign carer and, so I thought it was fine to employ one.</p> <p>A11I1C7 I said to my husband that we would definitely need help, otherwise we would not be able to cope.</p> <p>A11I1C8 We had a really tight schedule at the beginning, so we hired a temporary foreign carer for the first two months. The broker helped us to find an illegal carer.</p>	<p>A11I1C1 Care need</p> <p>A11I1C2 Physical problem of the family carer</p> <p>A11I1C3 Expecting another family carer</p> <p>A11I1C4 Focusing on the careers A11I1C5 Idea of hiring a foreign carer</p> <p>A11I1C6 Co-worker's experience</p> <p>A11I1C7 A care problem</p> <p>A11I1C8 Employing a illegal foreign worker for short period of time</p>

4.9.2 Focused coding

The analysis move from initial to focused coding. Charmaz (2006, p 43) pointed out that focused coding means “using the most significant and/or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data and one goal is to determine the adequacy of those codes”. The objective of focused coding was to make the most analytical sense to categorise the data completely. Here, the researcher selected the most significant initial codes to synthesise, organise and integrate data. By acting upon the research data, the constant comparison method was again implemented in this stage to develop the focused codes. Participant experiences, actions, situations and interpretations were compared carefully and then the data and the codes were rechecked and compared once more. Analytic significant and properties were defined during this coding procedure.

Table 4-5 *Example of focused coding*

Transcript	Focused code
At the beginning, I did consider that maybe I could care for them; however, it was impossible, unless I don't have to work. My husband was supportive of my decision, and he said it was up to me. At that time, my older sister-in-law said that I should shift the focus to the family, so there was a bitter argument. Personally I really dislike being a housewife. My own mother suggested that I employ someone, so I could still work. They (older sister-in-law) did not say much about this decision, as I was a bit tough at the time. I said to my husband: "even you disagree to employ a foreign carer, I would still find one, and I will pay what it costs".	Negotiating to employ a foreign carer (daughter in law) Focusing on the career (daughter in law)

Indeed, grouping procedures as inductive and comparative were essential for the researcher when conducting focused coding and thus defining the analytic dimensions and concepts. Large amounts of initial codes of different interviews were broken down and separated into similar groups. Each group represented an important characteristic, action or idea within the process of the employment of foreign carer in the private sphere. Furthermore, in order to facilitate supervision and discussion, the

raw data of each code was translated into English version for the supervisor team (see Table 4.6 and 4.7).

Table 4-6 *An example of focused coding with codes (grouping and comparison)*

Facing social change (older persons receiving care participants)	
<p>我們都是和父母住 但社會變了 這是想不到的 O1I1C62 We lived with our parents in the past, but society has changed. I didn't think about it. 外勞印尼和越南的最多 歹命喔 怎會這樣 O4I1C24 There are many foreign carers and everywhere now. Bad fate. How did society become like this? 我們以前好可憐 幫婆婆倒屎桶 要洗她們的衣服 O4I1C33 We were so pitiable and we needed to deal with my mother in-law's toileting and clothes. 有一天我們也會變婆婆撐傘 是這樣想 那知道現在的年輕人並不這樣想 O4I1C35 I thought I will become the mother-in-law one day (with high status in a family). However, the thinking of the young generation is different. 科學發達 大家頭腦都退化了 都沒有分老人 O4I1C36 The science has changed people's brains. They don't respect older people any more. 我孫子一堆都不娶不嫁 大孫女 40 了也都不嫁 好幾個也都不娶 O5I1C26 Most of my grandchildren have not been married. My eldest granddaughter is aged over 40 and she doesn't want to get married. 孩子沒住在一起 沒辦法 局勢已經變成這樣了 O13I1C7 I have no choice because society has changed. I don't live with my children. 孩子工作都去很遠 以前我們工作都沒有離開很遠 O13I1C8 We didn't leave our families in the past, but the young leave their families to make money. 現在的社會就是都兩個老的自己轉來轉去 O13I1C29 It's our society now that only the old couple walk back and forth by themselves.</p>	<p>最後 我們台灣的老人會餓死了 年輕人都 不回來了 O6I1C23 In the end, we older people will be hungry and die. Young people don't want to come back. 沒企業 沒工可做 老人都沒人愛 因為三餐都顧不飽 怎麼照顧老人 O6I1C24 There are no factories and no jobs here. Nobody loves older people. Without work, young people can't look after older people. 男生女生都不結婚 O6I1C25 Men and women don't get married. 政府就不管百姓阿 一直讓他們進來 O6I1C27 The government does not think about our people and lets foreign carers keep coming to our country. 以前沒有外勞可以請來照顧 都是自己 O7I1C24 We couldn't employ a foreign carer at home. We had to do it by ourselves. 台灣人怎麼會這樣 失業的人那麼多 少錢不願意賺 O7I1C25 How did the Taiwanese become like this? Many jobless people don't want to earn money. 以前的人有工作就做 會賺錢 現在的人先問工錢多少 O7I1C26 Our generation were keen to work and make money. The younger generation want to know how much the wage is before they work. 人家比較不要照顧老人 寧可隨便做 O7I1C27 People don't want to make money as carers for older people.</p>

Table 4-7 *An example of grouping the focused codes (Family employment participant)*

Relinquishing the role of caregiver
Facing change and the challenges
Adjusting to change
Making a choice
Opening the door to a foreigner (Outsourcing care)
Being pragmatic(matching practical needs)
Negotiating with the broker
Negotiating with family members
Restructuring relationships
Learning to communicate (with the foreigner)
Exchange of skills
Negotiating cultural differences
Minimizing trouble
Taking control
Maintaining Control
Imposing a routine and setting the parameters
Expecting trust
Dealing with unhappy incidents
Reinterpreting life
Becoming a family member and exchanging readily experiences and skills
Here is great practical and psychological support
This must be a life improvement
The hope of having a good death
Anticipating a better social welfare policy

In the initial stages of data collection and analysis three analytic dimensions were generated from interview data: *prosperity*, *disintegration* and *struggling for normality*. As other sources of data were brought to the analysis read, the framework of the key theoretical ideas were organised into chapters to depict the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carer for older people in Taiwan. The appropriate naming of the dimensions was considered carefully and decisions based on the need to demonstrate their representational and heuristic functions. Processes of linking, connecting and comparing between dimensions were used throughout the process. This was achieved by assimilating all sources of data. Thus, the global and local contexts and social interactions and negotiations between the three participant

groups were all integral to the analytical findings and all were critical in providing comprehensive theoretical understandings of the research phenomenon. Three analytic dimensions, *the reality of social change, resituating role and struggling for control* and the concepts of these dimensions were generated within this process (see Table 4-8).

Table 4-8 *Structure of thesis chapters, analytic dimensions and concepts (Memo)*

<p>Chapter 5. The reality of social change (prosperity)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Reshaping aged care obligation:</i> broader context, labour movement (industrial change, gender, structure level-policy, international, globalisation) • <i>Outsourcing care:</i> relinquishing some of the role of caregiver, subcontracting filial duties, outsourcing care, being pragmatic, negotiating with family members and broker , facing the issues of care needs, • <i>Changing identity:</i> contradictions, how they make sense of the situation, reality of social change, changing identities, affected by chronic disease and physical problems The hope of having a good death • <i>Reconstructing relationships:</i> facing change and adjusting to change, reconstructing the relationships with children, positive change, worries, hopeless and sadness, anticipating a better social welfare policy
<p>Chapter 6. Resituating roles (disintegration)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Making a choice:</i> making a choice, working for my family, making a better choice , work preparation , the cost • <i>Regulating foreign carers:</i> providing extra rewards, structuring the relationship with foreign carer, her mobile phone, unhappy experience, the desire to keep employing the same foreign carer, this must be a life improvement, here is a great practical and psychological support • <i>Surveillance:</i> requirements, expectations and assumptions, negotiating , minimizing the trouble, taking control testing, trust and precaution, isolation
<p>Chapter 7. Struggling for control (struggling for normality)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Becoming vulnerable:</i> fracturing family structure, becoming vulnerable, language and cultural difference, negotiating with parents and husbands, interpreting life • <i>Seeking normality:</i> negotiating and taking control, negotiating with the family employer, adjusting and overcoming the problem, keeping social network, getting help in my daily life, avoid moving to children's house, protecting dignity and autonomy, keep struggling for normality, negotiating with employers and older persons receiving care, seeking help and making friends, magazine, newspaper, cell phone • <i>It is hard to go back :</i> it's a hard work, changing my career, improving economic status
<p>Chapter 8. (Re)-regulating care (conclusion)</p> <p>They make sense of their situations differently....</p>

4.10 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

Theoretical interpretation was the final phase of analysis and this phase brought together the fragments of the social reality under research and shifted the analysis more obviously from the descriptive to the theoretical. The abstract level of interpretation generated an explanation of relationships between categories.

The constant comparative method was used to reconnect and specify the relationships between analytic dimensions. Non-relevant concepts were removed through the constant comparison method and this reduction was an important procedure to modify and formulate a higher level of theoretical abstraction. Indeed, the theoretical lens of social constructionism and symbolic interactionism informed the development of theoretical categories during this data analysis stage. Issues related to the social, cultural, political and economic domains that influenced social interactions and the everyday lives of participants provided a generative capacity to “raise fundamental questions regarding contemporary social life....” (Gergen, 1978, p.1345). This generative capacity culminated in a social process that underpinned the employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwan.

The social process is reflected in the core category, (re)-regulating care, that explained a process of transition from a traditional family-structured care system (deregulation) to a reregulated care arrangement informed by changing social and cultural relations. Social meanings were constructed in diverse ways by the three participant groups because each group was situated according to respective social, cultural and political contexts relevant to the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan.

4.11 MEMO-WRITING

Memo-writing provides the flexibility whereby the researcher can shape and reshape data collection and analysis throughout the research process (Charmaz, 2006). This strategy was applied throughout the research process and encouraged the researcher to record analytical ideas and reflections as they arose. There was no

definitive or mechanical rule and memo-writing was undertaken in both the English and Chinese languages.

At the start, memos mostly recorded thoughts and ideas from journal articles or books related to the research topic. Theoretical ideas, research knowledge, procedures and skills were noted that helped the researcher both to stay close to the research focus and to challenge developing interpretations. During the data collection, memos were written after each interview and this process informed revision of research questions, interview direction and identification of theoretical categories (See table 4-9). This memo-writing procedure as such helped maintain analytical focus, aided in the level of abstraction of ideas and fostered theory construction (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2006; Fassinger, 2005).

Indeed, memo-writing was also adopted to define dimensions and concepts, specify the properties and identify gaps when conducting the data analysis. It also forced the researcher to rethink and rework relevancies between dimensions and to seek to fully develop properties of the analytic dimensions (Charmaz, 2006). At this stage memo-writing encouraged the researcher to stop thinking about raw data, and to turn to concepts, analytic dimensions and theories. These memos were also used in preparing for thesis writing (see Table 4-10). The examples of dimension formation in Table 4.9 below reflect how the process of dimension formation is constantly changing as codes are added to or shifted between dimensions. The final naming of the concepts and analytical dimensions occurred in the assimilation of interpreted data and literature and theory as data.

Table 4-9 Two examples of a research memo

<p>Memo 2011 February 11 : “Having a son”</p> <p>When reviewing the data of the number 5 older persons receiving care, I noted that the cultural factor really influenced older people’s belief and lives. Filial piety is one factor we already know influences Chinese and Taiwanese societies. The other is relationships. The self-worth of Taiwanese is attached to the father’s side. Having a son therefore is an important mission for a family. Mrs. Wu is 84 years old and she lives with her husband and a foreign carer who is helping in their daily lives. One regret in her life is that she doesn’t have a son following eight daughters.</p> <p><i>I just kept giving birth because we wanted to have a son. People prefer to have a son in a family, but I just could not have one.</i></p> <p>Even though Mrs. Wu doesn’t have a son in her life, she is very satisfied with her eight daughters. They have good jobs, good families and can care for parents. They are teachers or other professionals. Two of her daughters are retired and often come to visit them. Having a son for older people is to prepare for their later life, but the reality has changed. Daughters can have a good income as well in a modern society.</p> <p><i>They all have jobs. They look like men. The things they do are better than men. My eight daughters make money for me, otherwise how can we pay our living expenses.</i></p> <p>Indeed, Mrs. Wu didn’t want a foreign carer to live in her house. Mrs. Wu’s foreign carer was introduced by her elder daughter. The carer cared for this daughter’s mother-in-law for over two and a half years. Therefore, the daughter knows this Indonesian girl very well. That’s the reason why Mrs. Wu feels comfortable to have the foreign carer. The communication barriers and cultural differences in this family are not big issues because the daughter can help. Cultural values play an important role in influencing life events of older Taiwanese.</p>
<p>2010/ 12/ 26 : 受限制於學歷 與生活困境 (Foreign carer C: struggling life at home)</p> <p>在與 C interview 過程中,最讓我感到印象深刻的話是: “我只有國小畢業 我只讀 6 年, 在印尼沒有好工作, 賺不到錢, 在台灣可以賺比較多錢”</p> <p>要賺和台灣一樣薪水的工作,在印尼需要大學畢業學歷, 但 C 的父親過世, 先生離家始終未回去, 他只在照相館擔任助理工作,一個人的薪水, 要照顧兒子與母親確實比較困難.</p> <p>所以他決定到台灣, 在還很少人來台灣工作的時候,他已經決定要外出工作, 改善家中的經濟. 過程中是有些無奈和掙扎.</p> <p>現在, 他蓋了房子, 在還有一年合約的情況下, 他希望能為將來回印尼作準備, 做小生意, 但他又擔心自己的錢不夠供孩子唸大學, 其實是有許多矛盾. 他說 “我不可能一直都在台灣, 我的家在那邊” 但是 C 已經在台灣 10 多年,中間換過身分, 所以才能再來台灣工作.</p> <p>外籍看護面對現實環境, 確實有很多無奈, 選擇中往往面對很多矛盾. 回去或者繼續工作?</p>

Table 4-10 *An example of memo-writing (structure of analytic dimensions and concepts)*

2011/08/02 : Structure of three categories	
<p>Prosperity</p> <p>Broader context, labour movement (industrial change, gender, structure level-policy, international, globalisation) Elder contradictions Subcontracting filial duties (family employer) How they make sense of the situation Relinquishing some of the role of caregiver Facing change and adjusting to change, Making a choice Outsourcing care Being pragmatic, negotiating with family members and broker Working for my family (foreign carer) Making a better choice , work preparation , The cost</p>	<p>Disintegration</p> <p>Reality of social change (older people) <u>changing identities</u> Facing the issues of care needs, affected by chronic disease and physical problems Reconstructing the relationships with children Negotiating and taking control (older people) Requirements, expectations and assumptions, Adjusting and overcoming the problem Testing, trust and precaution, her mobile phone, Providing extra rewards Structuring the relationship with foreign carer (family employer) Negotiating , minimizing the trouble, taking control Fracturing family structure Becoming vulnerable (foreign carer) Language and cultural difference, it's a hard work, Negotiating with the family employer</p>
<p>Struggling for normality</p> <p>They make sense of this situation differently Protecting dignity and autonomy (foreign carer) Unhappy experience (foreign carer) Isolation, magazine, newspaper, cell phone, Negotiating with employers and older persons receiving care, Keep struggling for normality (foreign carer) Negotiating with parents and husbands</p> <p>Avoid moving to children's house, (older people) Keeping social network Getting help in my daily life The desire to keep employing the same foreign carer Positive change, worries, hopeless and sadness seeking help and making friends Improving economic status Changing my career Interpreting life (family employer) Becoming a family member Here is a great practical and psychological support This must be a life improvement The hope of having a good death Anticipating a better social welfare policy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Core category ? <p>Should think and decide it later</p>

4.12 TRANSLATION

Chinese and Taiwanese were the languages in which the interviews were conducted. Translation was needed to facilitate supervision and to complete an English language thesis. The process of translation and use of interpreter, however, risked undermining the credibility of the research (Nes, Abma, Jonsson & Deeg, 2010, Shimpuku & Norr, 2012). Indeed, research (Squires, 2009) indicates that issues related to research design and processes such as methodology, data collection and data analysis may influence trustworthiness and credibility in cross-language research.

There are no golden rules or guidelines for translation in interpretive research and no standard or tool can be used to evaluate the influence of translation on credibility or theoretical rigour in research. However, what have been developed are translation and back translation procedures for qualitative nursing research (Chen & Boore, 2010, p. 238) and four procedures are summarised as follows:

- Verbatim transcription of the content of interviews and observations data in original language and then analysis;
- After the concepts and categories have emerged, two bilingual translators are necessary. They will translate the concepts and categories into English and the final English version is reached by agreement between two translators;
- Another bilingual person takes English version and back translates the concepts and categories from English to the original language;
- To gain conceptual equivalence and the word use which most native speakers would understand, an expert panel committee is involved in reaching final agreement on the translation.

It is noted, however, that back translation is often considered unnecessary and a critical review by a bilingual consultant as considered sufficient (Squires, 2009). Thus, while the researcher adhered to similar procedures as suggested by Chen and Boore (2010), back translation was not adopted because the majority of data analysis occurred in the first language. In order to ensure ongoing sensitivity to the data, the researcher conducted transcriptions, initial and focused coding processes in Chinese. Several transcriptions were translated into English only for supervision purposes. A nursing PhD student for whom Chinese is the first language and who is English

literate was employed to share the responsibility of translation. The researcher reviewed the transcripts to make sure the meanings of raw data were not lost. In so doing, consistency, objectivity and reliability were maximised. The supervisors gained understanding from the transcriptions and this improved supervision of coding procedures. Several interview transcripts conducted with different groups of participants were also translated for the same reason.

When conducting coding procedures, all focused codes and specific transcripts related to those codes, such as specific sentences, were translated as supplementary. Indeed, Chinese focused codes and the related English versions were recorded together in the coding process. The researcher used this method to discuss and communicate the coding processes with supervisors. Hence, clarity for both the researcher and her supervisors was brought to the grouping and naming of focused codes and as they were abstracted and formed categories. As some memos were documented in English, these also were useful in supervision meetings. Indeed, Nes, et al., (2010, p. 315) pointed to the benefit of “using fluid descriptions of meanings” and “using various English formulations” for discussion with research team members who do not speak the source language as more desirable than using “one word” such as a code for discussion. Keeping records of discussions also allows for greater transparency of interpretations (Nes, et al., 2010). Meaning construction indeed was significant to reflect the theoretical lens of social constructionism and symbolic interactionism. This research was influenced by the interrelationships of participants and researcher.

4.13 ETHICAL STATEMENT

Ethical considerations within the research process are fundamental to ensure that research procedures are safe for those who are participating (Roger, 2008). The researcher was mindful of the ethical consideration at inception and throughout the research journey, including data collection, analysis and presentation of findings.

As noted above, the participants in this research were drawn from the home care units of the Dalin and Meishan Township Public Health Centres. Approval for the research was gained from these two health care organisations (see Appendix F and G). Moreover, this research has also been given approval by the University Human Research Ethics Committee at the Queensland University of Technology. The category of approval is Human non-HREC and the approval number is 0900000390. This research has qualified for level one (low risk) ethical clearance (see Appendix H).

Informed consent for the participants was structured firstly and this procedure ensured that participants fully understood the research and costs and benefits it may incur. A research information sheet and a signed consent form written in Chinese, Vietnamese and Indonesian were provided for the participants (see Appendices I, J, K and L). Participants received both a verbal and written full explanation of the research. This information included the form of participation in this research; the type of information to be addressed in the interviews; the purpose of the research and expected outcomes; how the influences may have directly or indirectly affected them; that interviews and focus groups would be recorded; and the rights of the participants. The participants were informed that they had the right to self-determination and to withdraw from the research at any time without impunity (Holloway, 2005; Kumar, 2005). The phone number and e-mail address of the researcher, her supervisor and the ethics committee were provided to participants. The participants had the right to ask questions at any time through a phone call and e-mail.

Appropriate research questions were structured before implementing the interviews and focus groups (see Appendices A and B). The researcher mentioned that if the participants expressed any sense of discomfort during an interview or focus group, the process would be stopped before interview and where the participant exhibited stress, information would be supplied to a professional experienced in counselling. A referral to the health care professional could be made if the participants elected to take up such an offer. Indeed, no participant expressed any discomfort during the data collection process. The participants were given an opportunity to discuss their concerns and/or discomfort.

Storing and analysing research data were also important issues for ethics. Anonymity was ensured and protected when sharing information. The researcher ensured that after the information had been collected, its source was not known (Holloway, 2005; Kumar, 2005). The researcher is the only one person who has knowledge of participants' identity. No participant names or identifying information appeared in the final transcription or in the publication of results.

4.14 TREATMENT OF LITERATURE

As Charmaz (2006, p.163) wrote “lines often blur between a literature review and a theoretical framework” and thus researchers need to clarify and describe how they treat literature. As theoretical concepts and categories were developed through data analysis, various sources including journal articles, policies, news and other research findings were drawn upon to support, challenge or make comparisons with the theoretical outcomes of this research. This means these resources were treated as research data and directly contributed to the development of theoretical propositions. In the early stages of this research process, a contextual literature review was focused on community aged care, aged care needs and aged care provided by foreign carers in Taiwan. Research literature and other sources were used to conduct constant comparative method and to expand and clarify research categories in order to develop a coherent theoretical framework.

4.15 RIGOUR

Validity (of data) and reliability (of method) are used to evaluate the quality of quantitative research. Many have argued that these criteria are not suited to an evaluation of qualitative research (Golafshani, 2003; Steinke, 2004). Many have also offered alternative and varied criteria for qualitative research. Stenike (2004) has argued the core evaluation criterion of inter-subject comprehensibility. Golafshani (2003) suggested trustworthiness, rigour and quality. Triangulation has also been put forward as an important concept in qualitative research when referring to validity (Golafshani, 2003; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002b; Patton, 2002). The term “triangulation” was defined by Flick (2004) as “observation of the research issue

from at least two different points (p.178)". From this perspective it is argued that engaging multiple methods when conducting qualitative research can "lead to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities" (Golafshani, 2003, p. 603). This means that different research methods have their strengths and weaknesses and the use of triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. However, no evidence has been provided that triangulation is a proven standard for evaluating the quality of qualitative research. It is also the case that the concept of triangulation rests on the assumption that a "truth" will be revealed where the appropriate research instruments are put in place; a quite positivist position.

Credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are the terms first proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to implicate validity. These authors noted that a researcher should be cognisant of four points, truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality, when conducting qualitative studies. Furthermore, prolonged engagement was considered a prerequisite to the credibility of qualitative research in assuring sufficient time to do investigation, data collection and analysis and to build "the truth" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). While these criteria are often cited in qualitative research they are positivist in name and practice and thus incompatible with a constructionist approach.

Moving beyond the truth criterion, a far more fitting indication of rigour is the extent to which the research process and outcomes are methodologically consistent and theoretically grounded (Caelli, Ray & Mill, 2003). In other words, rigour is a significant theoretical issue (Sandelowski, 1993; Caelli, Ray & Mill, 2003). Just as important, however, is that theories and ideas are grounded in indications from research data. This is not to imply that research outcomes are written from data but that research data and theory both function to test the analytical process and to interrogate findings. In the words of Alvesson and Sköldberg (2009, p. 303):

...empirical material can inspire ideas and theories, endowing them with credibility, clarifying them and in the case of theories, making them more stringent. Empirical material cannot unashamedly falsify or verify theories, but it can generate *arguments* for or against the championing of theoretical ideas and a particular way of understanding the world.

Where methods are concerned, research processes were documented in detail. Moreover, as all interview data were audio recorded and verbatim transcribed before data analysis, the accuracy of data was ensured. Specific coding procedures were applied in the conduct of data analysis and short sentences of participant words were linked to focused codes to ensure persistency and accuracy of meaning constructions. Constant comparison and theoretical sampling were employed to contribute to data depth and richness and excerpts of data were also used to illustrate how research outcomes were informed by data. Memo writing was important in enhancing the credibility of this research. For example, post-interview memos reflected the ideas and thoughts of the researcher as a method of self-monitoring.

At the beginning, the interviews were conducted with family employer participants and the incoming information from these participants shaped the focus of research questions. As data analysis and theoretical sampling proceeded, older persons receiving care and foreign carer participants were further recruited to collected rich data for the same social phenomenon.

Literature, news, policies and journal articles also constituted data to support the interpretation of data and to generate analytic dimensions. Moreover, supervision was provided by two experienced researchers throughout the whole research process. Supervision meetings were normally conducted each week to clarify confusion and direction throughout the research process.

4.16 SUMMARY

This chapter has addressed the key tenets of the methods and processes that have been followed including, theoretical sampling, constant comparative analysis, coding procedures, memo writing and theory generation strategies. The chapter has also offered detailed descriptions and explanations of participant recruitment, data collection and analysis. The more abstract areas of data translation, ethical considerations, and validity and reliability have been explored and justified as they have manifested in their application in this research.

The methods applied in this research built on Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory framework of open and focused coding. The analytical procedure deviated from the Charmaz inductive approach following focused coding and moved towards a deductive mode whereby the developing conceptual ideas were examined within a context that addressed structure and interaction. This research therefore at once grounds the analysis in everyday life and existing cumulative knowledge. In the words of Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009, p.165); "Interpretations of the phenomenon thus require much more than a body of well-defined empirical material which rarely addresses the social context as well as meaning/consciousness on an individual level".

The following chapters turn to the context and meanings of analytical outcomes and are organised around three dimensions and a core category that were theoretically generated through the research process. In Chapter 5, the first analytic dimension, *the reality of social change* and related concepts are explored and the theoretical understandings that appear here provide the beginning context for an understanding of the research phenomenon.

Chapter 5: The reality of social change

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Rapid industrial development in Taiwan has seen unprecedented numbers of men and women enter the labour market to sustain increasing levels of productivity. The resultant prosperity has been accompanied by demographic structural change and long-term care challenges. In particular, caring for an ageing population has become a significant social issue because of the rising labour force participation of Taiwanese women and thus the diminished availability of family members to take responsibility for aged care. As the economy expanded and women entered the paid labour market a new source of labour appeared in the form of women carers, imported from developing countries, to address the need for aged care workers.

The legitimisation of entry of foreign workers was in the first instance a strategy instituted by the Taiwanese government to increase industrial competitive advantage (Piper, 2004). Yet, as noted earlier, from 1992, the government came to rely increasingly on female migrant workers from South-East Asia to replace Taiwanese women as providers of elder care. The number of registered foreign workers in March 2012 was 430,000, of which approximately 200,000 were working as carers (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2012).

There is a clear ethnicisation of the care work sector in Taiwan. The import of foreign labour into Taiwan has been nation specific and only workers from Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and more recently Vietnam are eligible for employment. The current research is concerned with Vietnamese and Indonesian carers who work in private homes in Taiwan. More specifically, the overriding objective of the research was to understand the meanings and experiences of Vietnamese and Indonesian carers, the Taiwanese family employers and the older persons receiving care and also to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households.

The analytic dimension, *the reality of social change*, conceptualises the employment of foreign carers for aged care in the private sphere in Taiwan and the ways in which this phenomenon has been shaped by social change in Taiwan and globally.

As has been the case in other countries in East Asia, three decades of rapid industrialisation and associated economic developments have altered the social milieu in Taiwan whereby demographic and family structures, women's roles and the social value of filial piety have been transformed (Tsai, Chen, & Tsai, 2008). The concepts of *reshaping aged care obligations* and *outsourcing care* reflect just how the fundamental values associated with filial piety have had to be reinterpreted and accomplished in new ways by families in the contemporary context. One research aim, understanding the meaning for Taiwanese families of living with an older family member and a foreign carer, is the focus of this chapter. The chapter addresses why and how the Taiwanese adult participants fulfilled the filial obligations of benevolence and propriety while also balancing the demands of waged work and unpaid care of parents. A central feature of this process was the shift of responsibility for care of the elderly to the market and hence to people unconnected with the family.

For Taiwanese older people, the value of filial piety was transformed from that which had been internalised throughout their lives. As Berger and Luckmann (1966) pointed out, knowledge of reality is institutionalised within any given society and that knowledge and associated rituals are transmitted from generation to generation. Newly emerging institutions, however, intersect with traditional knowledge and a structure is formed that brings control over and some resistance to change. Hence, there is at once change and the maintenance of tradition.

That the world had changed was a shared perception among older persons receiving care participants and one that manifested in two forms. First, the identities of the older participants were being reshaped by disability and declining health status. This alone brought new challenges such as a deteriorating capacity for self-care and restricted mobility and autonomy. On the other hand, the changing identities of their

children gave rise to unprecedented challenges. *Changing identity* and *reconstructing relationships* conceptualise the ways in which the lives of family and older carer receivers were redrawn within the research context. Just as social identity is formed as a result of coming to terms with social reality, so to the identity of older Taiwanese being cared for by foreign carers is addressed here first as a loss, but as a strategy for retaining some autonomy. Indeed, how older persons made sense of their situations and reconstructed relationships with children was a significant social process.

The social institution of employment of foreign carers in homes has the authority to influence actions, interactions and behaviours of people. Four analytical dimensions reflect the processes of how decision-making and the actions of the Taiwanese family employers and older persons receiving care intersected. These concepts, *reshaping aged care obligations*, *outsourcing care*, *changing identity* and *reconstructing relationships*, are depicted in the figure below and are addressed in turn in the following discussion.

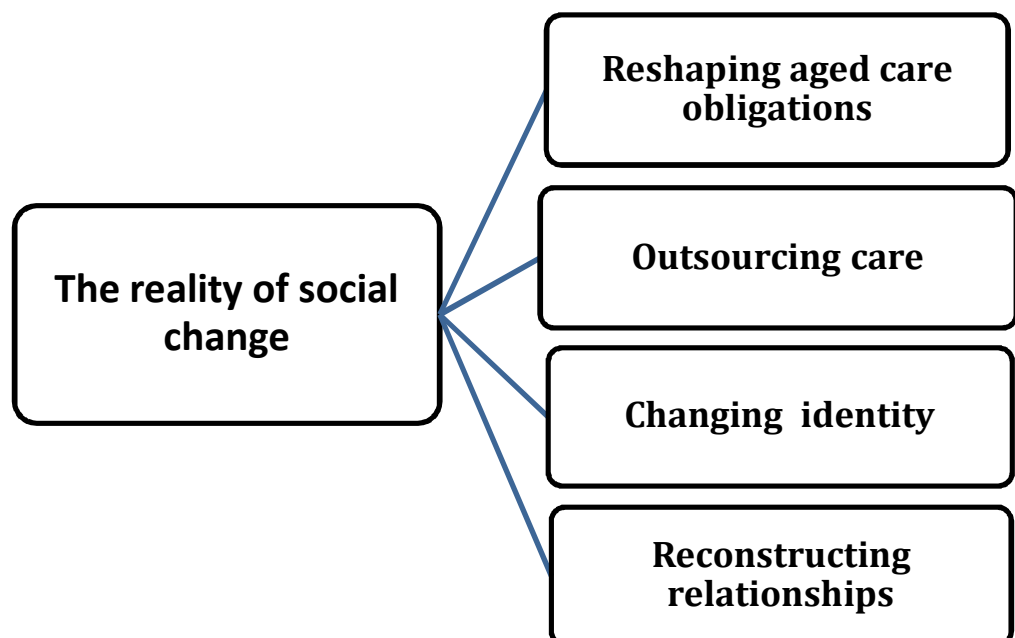


Figure 5-1 *The concepts related to the analytic dimension of “the reality of social change”*

5.2 RESHAPING AGED CARE OBLIGATIONS

Social demographic transition has generated an increased demand for carers in Taiwan. Carer shortages have resulted from increased life expectancy, lower fertility and a rapid demographic transition. In other words, older people are living longer, women are working outside the home and family members are geographically dispersed. Within the ongoing social process, aged care obligations and arrangements were reshaped. Hence, *reshaping aged care obligations* conceptualises the way in which family care was mediated through the layers of contemporary Taiwanese society whereby care was increasingly subcontracted to foreign carers.

The changes in living arrangements were a manifestation of rapid transformation in Taiwan from an agricultural to an industrial economic base. Industrialisation demands a mobile workforce and as more working opportunities exist in large cities, young Taiwanese tend to work and live in these locations (Lee, 2009). Nonetheless, even where there is no geographical movement of family members, a majority of working age Taiwanese are employed in full time jobs.

Although the changes noted above are significant, as has been argued elsewhere, most adult children continue to support disabled parents at home. This practice is heavily influenced by filial piety (Fan, 2006; Hsu, Lew-Ting, & Wu, 2001). In the agricultural era of Chinese societies, filial piety underpinned and reinforced traditional family and social structures (Yeh & Yang, 2008). In contemporary Chinese societies, the function of Confucian teachings continues to emphasise the responsibility and obligation of families as carers. Importantly, it also functions to minimise the role of the state (Hsu, et al., 2001; Wu, et al., 2010). This is evident in the enactment of legal and administrative measures by the Taiwanese government that give primacy to the duty of children over social welfare spending for the ageing population. For example, filial piety is highlighted in Article 1084 of Chapter III Parents and Children of the Civil Code of the Republic of China (2011) which states that “Children shall be filial to and respect their parents. Parents have the rights and the duties to protect, educate and maintain their minor children.” Further, Article 294 of Chapter 25 Offenses of Abandonment of the Criminal Code

of the Republic of China (2011) also defines filial piety as the expectation that Taiwanese adult children will be responsible for supporting parents. Hence, both cultural norms and regulations underlie the value of filial piety and the obligations of children in relation to aged care in Taiwan.

It is therefore not surprising that, despite industrialisation, there is evidence of the persistence of filial piety as an influential social value. According to a long-term and cross-sectional survey related to social change in Taiwan between the years 1984 to 2007 (Academia Sinica, 2011), 90 to 99% of Taiwanese participants continued to value filial piety as an expression of respect and support for older people. As such, both the traditional Chinese collectivist culture and Western economic individualism now both influence the social interactions of Taiwanese people. An example is evidence produced from a national survey by Lu (2009, p.149) which indicated that although young educated Taiwanese emphasised “independence, autonomy, active striving and personal achievement”, the familial social values of traditional Chinese culture were linked to family preferences and personal well-being. Indeed, interdependence was seen as important to higher life satisfaction for Taiwanese (Lu, 2009).

A further example is the ongoing tradition whereby at least one son and his family members are expected to live with the son's parents and provide living expenses and care (Fan, 2006; Hsu, et al., 2001). Following Goffman (1967), specific patterns exist for human lives and these are organised around rules of conduct related to a person's obligations and others' expectations. Rules are important in regulating people's behaviours and affairs in social interactions because the maintenance of rules means that people commit to managing themselves. This is relevant to the situation where Taiwanese adult children are morally and socially obliged to fully care for older parents. Where people cannot meet these social expectations this becomes a matter of shame and humiliation.

This cultural circumstance has traditionally relegated the role of family carer to women. Taiwan is a strongly patriarchal society and where a marriage takes place,

daughters-in-law are no longer considered members of their biological families and are expected to take over the household responsibilities of the families of husbands (Hsu, et al., 2001). The obligation of sons in caring for older parents is therefore symbolically transferred to wives of sons. It is the case that there are gender dichotomies in all societies and gender identity is a powerful factor that shapes women's attitudes to and practices as family carers (Kramer, 2005). A woman's identity is associated with caring, self-giving, and being morally obligated to others and this gender identity influences expectations of women as family care providers. Indeed, evidence shows that skill distribution is differentiated by gender on a global scale and that women comprise the majority of informal care providers across Europe, North America and East Asia (Jang, Avendano, & Kawachi, 2012; Lee, Chou, & Chen, 2011; Roth, Haley, Wadley, Clay, & Howard, 2007). The form in which these expectations feature, however, are created by social and political processes and will vary across nations.

Although a strong commitment to filial piety persists in Taiwan, women increasingly struggle to fulfil socially prescribed gender roles (Cheng, 2006) and as such are challenging traditional role expectations. Employment of a foreign carer has become one means by which Taiwanese women are renegotiating their traditional roles in patrilineal kinship families. A majority of these women are engaged in full-time paid work and for most relinquishing employment and careers to become carers is not desirable and for significant reasons. Increased economic resources have become a vehicle by which Taiwanese women bargain within families over the distribution of household labour (Lu & Yi, 2005). Bargaining power is thus, in turn, a means by which daughters-in-law challenge traditional control, power and expectations. Nonetheless, the placement of parents in nursing homes, hostels or retirement villages remains culturally unacceptable. The employment of foreign carers is therefore an economically viable choice that relieves daughters-in-law of some of the burden of care. This choice has also ensured that older persons receiving care enter into living relationships with foreign carers.

Thus the increased economic capacity of Taiwanese women has allowed for the subcontracting of traditional domestic responsibilities around aged care. A

participant, Lin, who was 40 years old and worked in a medical health centre as a nurse stated:

They want me to look after my mother-in-law. I told my husband: "I want to keep working." The opinion of my parents-in-law is that we of the younger generation should look after them when they are too ill to look after themselves. I argue with my mother-in-law very often because I don't want to leave my job and sacrifice my career for this family. It is impossible for me to do what my mother-in-law did. It will mean that I lose myself. (Family employer11, Interview1)

Two family employer participants married to eldest sons, were both aged over 60. Both determined to bring foreign carers for their parents-in-law into their homes. In so doing they perceived that they would meet the traditional social expectations and care obligations as daughters-in-law.

My husband passed away when I was 26 years old, but I kept living with and taking care of his parents and my children. My brothers-in-law suggested that I send my mother-in-law to a nursing home after she suffered from cancer and other physical problems. I disagreed because I was working in a public health centre as a nurse and everyone knows me here. I wanted to save face and so I decided to hire a foreign carer at home. (Family employer 17, Interview1)

My husband is the eldest son in his family. It means that I have responsibility for my mother-in-law. Other daughters-in-law in my family have jobs. Even though I am taking care of my grandchildren, they want me to take care of my mother-in-law at the same time. If I do not employ someone to look after her, I will have to do it. I think it would make me crazy. I cannot do it. (Family employer 6, Interview1)

Taiwanese women now look to education, gender equality and career achievement as hallmarks of the prosperity resulting from industrial development and economic growth. Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea were determined as the top three newly industrialised countries in Asia during 1980s and 1990s because these countries had considerable "purchasing power" resulting from wealth accumulation (Tseng, 2000). As such Taiwanese women have had increased exposure to higher education, health care and paid-employment all of which are important contributors to economic and cultural freedom (Roy, Blomqvist, & Clark, 2008).

According to a survey by the Union Nations (2009, p. 85), empowerment of women positively impacts on economic growth “when it is mediated by policies promoting women’s education, employment, human rights and bargaining power”. As Lourdes Beneria (2003, p. 121) put it, “women’s high education levels and rising labour market participation have contributed to a gradual increase in women’s participation in managerial and professional occupations”. Indeed, the function of education is also connected to women’s postponement of childbearing and an increase in childlessness in developed countries (Gustafsson, Kenjoh, & Wetzels, 2002). Hence, the influence of liberalism associated with industrialisation has changed Taiwanese women’s identities as carers and domestic workers (Fan, 2006; Lin, 2007).

Hence, while Taiwanese women well understand what is socially expected of them as wives, daughters-in-law and mothers, the spread of a liberal ideology associated with capitalist development, increased economic capacity and higher education, has rapidly transformed the social and cultural milieu. What was traditionally an obligation transferred from husbands to wives was now being transferred to foreign carers. This reflects one significant way in which Taiwanese women were reshaping domestic relationships and redistributing household work.

While industrialisation has brought all of the above, it has also confronted other traditional norms (Clark & Clark, 2008). A significant feature of social change has been a decline in family size and demographic transition. This is evident in the extent of the decrease in the number of extended families and the demographic transition in Taiwan. For example, the annual birth rate in Taiwan was 7.040 per one thousand people in 1951, 1.68 in 1986, 1.18 in 2005, 1.03 in 2010 and 0.9 in 2011 (National Statistics, 2011a). The fertility rate in Taiwan has been comparatively low since the 1950s (National Statistics, 2011a) and the decline accelerated in the 1960s following the introduction of a family planning program. In 2011 Taiwan recorded the world’s lowest birthrate. The outcome of this trend has been a weakening of the extended family structure. This is evident in the decrease of the mean size of households from 3.94 persons in 1991 to 2.88 persons in 2011 (National Statistics, 2011a). Furthermore, the number of divorces and single parent families is also rising

which reflects an increasing disruption to kinship ties (National Statistics, 2011b). These changes mirror this research which points to a transformation in the socio-economic and cultural gender relations in Taiwan.

While the employment of foreign carers for older people in households provided a new way to fulfil filial obligations, a critical issue was that private households were opened to foreigners. The processes of decision-making and negotiations around the employment of foreign carers were conceptualised as *outsourcing care* which is explored below.

5.3 OUTSOURCING CARE

Addressing the care of parents in terms of appropriate and available long-term care is a critical decision. Care of older persons by families, long-term care facility services; home care and day care services reflect the range of options available in Taiwan (Department of Social Affairs, 2007). However, many thousands of families have made the decision to bring foreign carers into homes to assume the responsibility of aged care. This decision may be characterised by conflict and gives rise to issues related to social, economic and cultural power relations.

From the perspective of the family employer participants, employment of a foreign carer at home was a means by which family carers could simultaneously manage care and fulfil traditional filial duties. Local carers were preferred because it was thought that locals would provide more appropriate care. However, the cost is often prohibitive where employing a local carer costs \$NT 2,000 (67 AU dollars) per day and twice that of employing a foreign carer (\$NT 700 or 23.5 AU dollars). By contrast, employment of a foreign carer on a 24 hour basis was economically viable.

We have employed local carers twice for short periods of time. The first looked after my mother-in-law at home for three months after my mother-in-law's first stroke. Because the wages of local carers are too expensive, we employed a foreign carer at home. The second time was when my mother-in-law was comatose in hospital. We did not know how to manage. The foreign carer and I just sat there in the hospital. A big bedsore was found in my mother-in-law's back after few days,

and then we decided to employ a local carer. (Family employer 1, Interview1)

We did not know how to look after my husband at the start and then we employed a local carer because she had the experience and skills. My son and daughter took turns to care for him at night. We spent a lot of money, over a hundred thousand (4,000 A.U. dollars) for two months. Then, the local carer told us that we could employ a foreign carer. (Family employer 9, Interview1)

Negative perceptions of nursing home care are embedded in the collective opinions of Taiwanese and are reproduced within family relations.

My aunt suggested that we send our grandfather to a nursing home. How can it be possible? My grandfather would complain all the time because he wants to be cared for by us. My mother-in-law blamed her younger sister after she sent her father-in-law to a nursing home. She said that was not the right thing for a filial daughter-in-law to do. (Family employer 11, Interview1)

My mother-in-law was sent to a nursing home after her hip operation while we were waiting for a foreign carer to come. Even though my husband went to visit her every day, as long as my husband did not show up for one day, she began to worry that we might want to get rid of her. She thought she was abandoned. (Family employer 4 Interview1)

Even though the expense of nursing home care and employing a foreign carer at home for my mother-in-law are similar, the nursing home takes on most of my burden and we don't need to provide food for a foreign carer. However, we were not allowed to send my mother-in-law to a nursing home. If we did, our relatives would say that we are not filial children. (Family employer 1, Interview1)

The excerpts above reflect other works (Huang, 2007; Liu, 2009) that indicate that placement of a parent in a long term care facility is discordant with social expectations in Taiwan. Indeed, such an action is viewed as shameful. Hence, while the perceptions of Taiwanese around aged care were shifting, cultural discourse remained a powerful factor underpinning a decision to employ a foreign carer.

According to the survey noted earlier that explored social change in Taiwan over the period 1984 to 2007 (Academia Sinica, 2011), in 1985 over 90% of participants determined that sending older parents to aged care facilities was immoral wrong and in 2005 46% responded similarly. Nonetheless, the ratio between use of private carers at home and long-term care facilities has increased from 1:3 in 1999 to 1:1 in 2003 in Taiwan (Tsai & Lai, 2011). Furthermore, with the increasing number of foreign carers, the percentage of older people living in long-term care facilities also decreased; 5.59% of older people were institutionalised in 2000 (Ministry of Interior, 2001) and in 2005 the level had reduced to 2.26% (Ministry of Interior, 2006b). This is some evidence that, regardless of social change, care of older parents at home is still constrained by cultural factors and related social expectations in Taiwan (Tsai & Lai, 2011; Wang, 2011).

The combination of adherence to filial piety and the commercial transformation of aged care has given legitimacy to the employment of foreign carers at homes. Pei-Chia Lan (2002, pp. 813-833) applied the term “subcontracting filial piety” to explain the social practice whereby Taiwanese and Hong Kong immigrant families in California employed carers for their frail parents to “maintain the cultural ideal of filial piety”. The argument here was that aged care is “constantly transformed by institutional environments and human agency”. A feature of this change however is generational conflict as older people seek to understand how they are situated.

We did not tell my mother-in-law that we would employ a foreign carer for her, but she understood by listening to our conversations. She was very angry and said to my husband “How come you do not listen to me anymore?”. She could not accept our plan. (Family employer 16, Interview1)

I planned to employ a foreign carer for my mother. One night, I heard my mother talking to my father: “Ya-Feng does not want to look after me anymore. She will abandon me and leave me with a foreign carer at home.” I was so angry. Because we are so busy and employing a foreign carer will help her in her daily life at home. (Family employer 2, Interview1)

Conflict over values and expectations was not confined to the parents.

For the first several years, my husband's siblings thought that if we employ a foreign carer for my mother-in-law, relatives and neighbours would think that we are not filial sons. However, they were so exhausted because they are all over 70 years of age. My husband's older sister-in-law complained about the responsibility all the time. They agreed to employ a foreign carer last year. (Family employer 28, Focus group interview2)

While 70% of family caregivers in Taiwan are female (Lee, et al., 2011), sons continue to be overtly the main decision makers in the lives of older parents because they hold more power and assume a higher social status (Yu, 2003). Yet, while the identity of Taiwanese women and associated roles are entrenched in the family structure (Tsai & Lai, 2011), Taiwanese women now have more resources and the capacity to restructure their roles. The opportunity to employ foreign carers, legitimised by the Taiwanese government, has provided a substitute for aged care for Taiwanese women.

Nonetheless, anxiety accompanied decisions to open the private worlds of families to foreign carers. The definition of “home” is a house or an apartment wherein you live with family members. The appearance in the home of someone unconnected with the family gave rise to concern over the potential that a foreign carer might engage in stealing, abuse or other crimes or abscond. As such, families used various strategies to establish some control and to ensure that their foreign carers conformed to their needs and requirements.

I told my broker that my mother-in-law was obese and that we needed a foreign carer who was tall and strong otherwise she could not move my mother-in-law properly. Education and working experience were also taken into account. (Family employer 7, Interview1)

Four choices of foreign carers were provided by the broker. I put them in front of our God and asked God which one is better. You may say it was superstition, but this foreign carer is honest and reliable even though she is very stupid. (Family employer 9, Interview1)

A dimension of this control was a reliance by family employers on the services of brokers when first employing a foreign carer. Brokers, in turn, promoted and provided the carers that best served their business interests. The result of the latter was a stereotyping of foreign workers underpinned by popular discourse as part of the marketing strategy of brokers. These stereotypes permeated Taiwanese culture and shaped the choices of foreign carers made by family employer participants.

We are very loyal. We have used the services provided by the same broker over 16 years. At first, it was a carer from the Philippines. Then the broker told us that Filipinas are disobedient and not easy to manage and he persuaded us to employ people from Indonesia.
(Family employer3, Interview1)

The impetus for the appearance of this hierarchy of nationalities of foreign workers is profit. As Lan (2006b, p. 75) wrote:

First, they convince prospective employers about the importance of professional screening and matchmaking. Second, they provide patterned labour options based on market segmentation to satisfy the diverse needs of employers. Third, they maneuver these stereotypical images to persuade certain types of employers to replace Filipina workers with Indonesian ones.....

Thus there exist in Taiwan distinct stereotypes of migrant workers premised on nationality and race (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2005, 2006b; Loveband, 2004b; Tierney, 2008). These stereotypes have an explicit economic function. Foreign workers from Southeast Asian countries, for example, are the “lowest paid”, are recruited to the “least appealing jobs” and do not have the protection of the police and labour unions in terms of working rights (Tierney, 2008, p. 482). Racism is thus a significant issue in Taiwan as foreign workers are distributed economically, socially and politically within the local labour class (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b; Tierney, 2008). In this situation, tension and discrimination between national identities is given force by globalisation and national competition (Lai, 2011). Within this environment, culture and state are two central factors in the construction of national identity and foreign workers will be situated outside the national identity simply by virtue of their foreignness (Cheng, 2003).

The collective identity and stereotypes of foreign carers in Taiwan are social artefacts and are socially constructed by dominant people, media and discourses (Friedman, 2006). Linguistic acts and exchanges in Taiwan shape and reshape those identities and stereotypes. Research (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b) has revealed the overt stereotyping of foreign carers on websites and in the documents of private recruitment agencies. The characteristics of “aggressive”, “disobedient” and “well educated” have been attributed to Filipina workers (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b). “Obedient”, “docile”, “stupid” and “loyal” are constructed as Indonesian worker characteristics (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b), and “working endurance”, “intelligent”, “mild personality” and an “affinity for Chinese culture” are used to describe foreign workers from Vietnam (Lan, 2006b, p. 66). Ironically, the stigma of Filipina female domestics is constructed by European women as “docile”, “hardworking” and “subservient” (Cheng, 2006, p. 75).

Contemporary discursive constructions of Indonesian and Vietnamese carers were evident in various websites of foreign worker recruitment agencies. The researcher used the term “foreign carer” to search websites of private recruitment agencies from the Yahoo search engine, one of the most popular used by Taiwanese. Data in relation to the discursive construction of Indonesian and Vietnamese carers were accessed from the first identified twenty websites of foreign worker recruitment agencies. Fourteen out of the twenty private recruitment agency websites provided information that characterised foreign workers on a national basis. The information is provided explicitly for Taiwanese employers. Some differences in characteristics of foreign carers from particular countries were found across websites, but the majority of discursive constructions were similar to those identified in previous research (see figure 5.3). Indonesian women were advertised as perfect carers for disabled people living at home and women from Vietnam as a second choice. Because Vietnamese carers were excluded from employment in private homes in Taiwan in 2005, on the basis of their supposed higher absconding rate, Indonesian women then were positioned as the ideal employees. By comparison, Filipina workers were characterised as disobedient and not easy to manage and because of higher levels of education more likely to be sensitive about their working rights. Over 75% of foreign

carers in Taiwan are from Indonesia and only approximately 10% are Filipina women (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2012).

Indeed, not only is language used to depict the characteristics of foreign carers according to nationality, but pictures and personal information such as names, height, weight, age, educational background, nationality, religion, marriage and working experience were overtly promoted for prospective employers. One website provided information about the weight of a sand bag that the foreign carer could carry up and down stairs (Hsin Hsian Manpower Cooperation, 2012). Nine out of the twenty private recruitment agencies provided this form of on-line human resource system. For example, “picking your servant on-line directly” is advertised on some websites (SouthEast Asia Group, 2011). Notably, pictures of foreign carers depict women all wearing the same uniform or apron, with tidy hair and smiling. These websites reflect the extent of the commodification of foreign carers in Taiwan as marketed by private recruitment agencies and brokers.

Indonesian carers	Vietnamese carers
Loyal and docile (Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012; SouthEast Asia Group, 2012b; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)	Having a similar cultural background (Center Human Resource, 2012; Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012; Perfection Manpower Cooperation, 2012)
Diligent (Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012)	Diligent and conscientious (Center Human Resource, 2012; Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)
Obedient (Center Human Resource, 2012; Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012)	High level of self protection and esteem (Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)
Easier to be controlled (SouthEast Asia Group, 2012b)	Accommodation (Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)
Accommodating and conscientious (Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012)	Loyal (Center Human Resource, 2012)
Optimistic (Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)	Stubborn (Perfection Manpower Cooperation, 2012)
Friendly (Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012; SouthEast Asia Group, 2012b)	Smart (SouthEast Asia Group, 2012b)
Thrifty (Center Human Resource, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012)	Self-central (Perfection Manpower Cooperation, 2012; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)
High level of self-esteem (Center Human Resource, 2012)	Thrifty (Center Human Resource, 2012)
Slow and stubborn (Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012)	Friendly (Center Human Resource, 2012)
Problem of communication (Center Human Resource, 2012; Taipei human resource agnecy, 2012)	Conservative (Center Human Resource, 2012)
Problem of hygiene (Center Human Resource, 2012)	Shy (Center Human Resource, 2012)
Perfect foreign carer or domestic (Ho-Master International Cooperation, 2012; Jau- Guang internatioanl develop cooperation, 2012)	High educational background/low educational background (SouthEast Asia Group, 2012b)

Table 5-1 *Descriptions of Indonesian and Vietnamese carers on websites of private recruitment agencies.*

The evidence above indicates that the discourse surrounding foreign carers plays an important role in shaping the choices of Taiwanese families who employ foreign carers. As a result of the domination of the private recruitment industry, Indonesians carers have been most in demand in Taiwan (Loveband, 2004a). Private recruitment agencies and brokers indeed tried to dominate the construction of

popular discourses and thus gained benefits. This mirrors the determination of Johnson and Cassell (2001, pp. 136-137) that:

Organisational members may be differentiated according to their participation in a discourse which shapes their subjectivity. For instance, those groups that accept and deploy discourses enjoy an aura of expertise and material privilege within organizational hierarchies while those who are unable to deploy that discourse lose status. Indeed, deployment of any discourse is seen as empowering those people with the right to speak and analyse while subordinating others who are the object of knowledge and disciplinary practices produced by the discourse.

The empirical evidence therefore supports a claim that popular discourse and stereotypes surrounding foreign workers in Taiwan were the profit driven constructs of brokers and private recruitment agencies. The implications are worthy of exploration and are addressed further in next chapter. The discussion turns now to an exploration of the changing identities of the central actors in this research.

5.4 CHANGING IDENTITY

The analytic dimension of *changing identity* reflects life changes experienced by older persons receiving care as a result of physical and mental decline and evolving relationships with their foreign carers. Disability was a threat to productive functioning and thus loss of self-care ability, isolation, dependence, insecurity and physical symptoms were significant factors that had eroded the autonomy of those participants. Longevity as pointless was commonly expressed by older persons receiving care participants to mirror a sense of hopelessness. While disability impacted on everyday interactions, their identities were also being redefined within a changing physical, social and economic context.

I am too old to do things. It's pointless living a long life. Having stable health is the only hope. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview1)

I can't earn money now and I depend on my son's support. (Older persons receiving care 9, Interview1)

The identity of decline, loss, pathological formation and dependency is almost exclusively associated with the ageing process and older people. In the words of Berger and Luckmann (1966, p.173); “Identity is formed by social processes. The social processes involved in both the formation and maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure.” Yet, identity is also produced through the interactions between individuals and structure that react on the “given social structure” which is reinforced or modified.

Charmaz (1980) made a theoretical point three decades ago and one that remains relevant to our understanding of how older persons receiving care develop negative emotional feelings as a result of physical dysfunction and as a social process. As Charmaz (1980, p. 129) wrote:

....when the illness is discovered or defined as progressing; after the ill person has been socially discredited and when the ill person begins to see herself or himself as a burden. Under all three conditions, social and emotional isolation intensify the feelings of the ill person. Similarly, in all three conditions, ill persons may confront the fact that their expectations are unmet and this also intensifies the development of self-pity.

Even though the biomedical model assumes a dominant role in the production of discourse around ageing, aspects of society and its political and economic structure and social policies are also critical factors (Powell, 2006). Indeed, not only does disability influence change in older persons receiving care, but care providers also play a significant role in influencing that change (Orona, 1990). Research indicates that family carers, physical condition, culture and public policy are all important in the construction of care arrangements for older people in Taiwan (Tsai & Lai, 2011). The perceptions and norms related to the ageing of Taiwanese older people are not completely congruent with those in Western societies (Hung, Kempen, & De Vries, 2010) and cultural differences are influential in determining role responsibilities. Outsourcing care may fulfil traditional values for some but perceptions of older people often differ.

I often cry during the night because of my bad fate. My sons wanted me to employ a foreign carer to look after me. They are making money in different cities and can't look after me. If my walking ability returns,

I won't need her any more. (Older persons receiving care 15, Interview 1)

We have no choice. We have to employ someone to help us because our sons live and work far away. Otherwise, I would not spend my money on her. We did not move far from home when we were young. (Older persons receiving care 13, Interview 1)

There was no one look after me after the operation. I had no choice. They (sons) all live in the north of Taiwan. My brother-in-law had a foreign carer at that time and his son helped me to communicate with the broker. I had a temporary foreign carer at the beginning. This carer has been here for over 3 years. My life is painful. (Older persons receiving care 3, Interview 1)

In Taiwan, those aged 70 years and over have experienced the different eras of agriculture and industrialisation. Prior to 1970, the Taiwanese government relied on economic investment in the form of U.S. loans (Gunning, 2007) and most Taiwanese were dependent on agricultural activities and production to sustain families. During the 1960s and 1970s Taiwan began to industrialise. The population living in cities is over three times greater than the population living in rural areas and thus the labour force engaged in agriculture has decreased dramatically (Lin et al., 2003). Yet the life experiences and perspectives of older persons receiving care in this research reflected the social background and life styles of a previous era where family members worked to sustain the family structure and women took responsibility for both productive and reproductive work. The majority of women were involved in physically demanding work and had received little education. Participants recalled the difficulties endured in their earlier lives.

I made money as a domestic worker to raise my children. I cried very often because I was struggling with life. I kept working until I could not work. (Older persons receiving care 15, Interview1)

We went out to work on our farm very early and came home very late. We didn't take a rest and just kept working. (Older persons receiving care 8, Interview1)

My life was a struggle when I was young. I worked on the farm and did lots of difficult things. It was hardship. I had a very difficult life. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview1)

The majority of older Taiwanese experienced poverty and hardship when young and these experiences shaped their views on what was perceived as an ideal later life. Financial security was an essential factor because of the experience of living with an insufficient social support system and economic hardship (Hsu, 2007).

In the context of economic hardship a function of filial piety was to ensure cohesion of the family structure, distribution of scarce resources and care of the elderly. Further, the practice of filial duty by adult children was expected so that older people could have better lives. Economic and emotional support was the province of adult children. “Raising children for the needs of old age” and “aging at home and being cared by the young” are deep-seated beliefs and reflect the ideal for older Taiwanese (Tsai & Lai, 2011, p. 301). Yet the older persons were often not directly cared for by adult children and the meaning of and expectations around later life had changed.

I was so pitiable and I needed to deal with my mother in law's toileting and clothes. She was blind and I needed to look after her. I thought that was what I should do. I thought, I will become the mother-in-law one day. The thinking of the young generation is different now. You don't expect this generation to do so. It is the world of science, but people's brains are moving backwards. Young people don't respect old people now. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview1)

I have no choice because society has changed. I don't live with my children. We didn't leave our families before, but the young generation leave their families to make money. (Older persons receiving care 13, Interview1)

I thought, I will be the mother-in-law one day reflects the traditional asymmetrical power relation of mother and daughter-in-law and the different role expectations. It also indicates the lower social status of this group and how daughters-in-law had to bargain over aged care responsibility to ensure their own

future care. As Parish and Willis (1993) found, in the years from the 1940s to 1980s, Taiwanese were more likely to choose work or marriage over education where there were many siblings and young women left school so that brothers could continue to become educated. Parental authority is an organising facet of Taiwanese society and a hierarchical order operated therefore between daughters and sons and subsequently daughters and mothers-in-law.

Physical and mental health, financial security and family support are considered essential in promoting healthy ageing in Taiwan (Hsu, 2007; Hung, et al., 2010; Wang & Lin, 2011). Hsu (2007) identified “physical health and independence”; “economic security”; “family and social support, spiritual well-being”; “engagement with life”; and “environment and social policy” as important to a healthy ageing process (Hsu, 2007, p. 93). Moreover, the leading five highest ranked items identified by older Taiwanese were: “being physical healthy”, “being independent”, “having no chronic disease”, “living with children or family” and “feeling cared for by family or friends” (Hsu, 2007, p. 95). More recent research (Hsu, Tsai, Chang, & Luh, 2010; Hung, et al., 2010; Wang & Lin, 2011) has determined that health problems, financial security and family support are correlate closely with the healthy ageing of older Taiwanese and over half of older Taiwanese worry about insufficient financial preparation for the future.

Further, we can conclude that identity change and the developments of negative perceptions related to the everyday lives of older persons receiving care were influenced by disability, financial insecurity and the outsourcing of aged care cares to foreign carers. Older persons faced the challenges of negotiating with adult children and foreign carers within everyday social contexts. Relationships between adult children and their ageing parents therefore were changed.

5.5 RECONSTRUCTING RELATIONSHIPS

Reconstructing relationships refers to the ways in which relations between older people and their adult children in this research were influenced by social

processes and specifically the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan. The transformation of social structures and social values were integral to change. For some older persons receiving care, employment of a foreign carer at home did not fulfil expectations and thus adult children sought to minimise conflict sounding this issue between family members and carers. For others, the employment of a foreign carer at home was readily agreed upon. These participants perceived employment of a foreign carer as a useful strategy in maintaining some autonomy in the management of their everyday lives.

My daughter-in-law is not a filial daughter-in-law because she didn't take care of me. I felt so embarrassed when my son helped me to have a bath or to toilet. The carer now lives with me and helps. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview 1)

The relationships between us are not good because I didn't accept their marriage. My daughter-in-law has her freedom and I have mine. (Older persons receiving care 11, Interview 1)

Employing a foreign carer may relieve a family of the burden of care and also ameliorate conflict and tension between Taiwanese family members. Earlier it was argued that the Taiwanese cultural value of filial piety has been reshaped by social change. Since the 1970s, more and more Taiwanese women have chosen to pursue careers and one result is that married women are expected to contribute economically to the family unit (Yu, 2009). This, in turn, has meant that Taiwanese daughters-in-law have the economic resources to bargain and reshape the traditional roles and social expectations surrounding aged care. Thus the employment of foreign carers reflected an upgrading of the social status of daughters-in law in patrilineal families.

The well-being and happiness of Taiwanese parents is indeed influenced by their children's attitudes to filial piety and the younger generation also recognise that fulfilling this traditional social expectation is important. Yet there are gaps in attitudes to filial piety, well-being and parent-child relationships between the two generations (Hsu, et al., 2001; Lu, Kao, & Chen, 2006). The older participants reconsidered their relationships with their children as follows.

I can't get used to living in a big city. They all go to work in the morning and I stay at home alone. I have no place to go, no neighbour and no friends. The lives of my children differ from my life. (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1)

My daughter said to me to look on the bright side. Indeed, I have no choice. It's my fate. They are not happy to live with me and I live alone. Now, my sons share my living expenses and the carer's wage. I am satisfied with my life. (Older persons receiving care 3, Interview 1)

During the transitional period of the relationships between parents and adult children, foreign carers were employed as a way of addressing different expectations and conflicts. The employment of a foreign carer therefore emerged as a negotiated compromise. This care strategy has become a taken-for-granted action in contemporary Taiwanese society as more and more foreign carers are employed to deal with the situated realities of the different generations.

My mother didn't want to move into my house and my wife is too sick to provide care for my mother. I could go anywhere without worrying about my mother after the foreign carer was employed. (Older persons receiving care 3, Interview 1)

My mind and my life were relieved. I am not a burden for my sons anymore and I can have my own life with her help. (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1)

The quality of my life is improved with her help. I can sleep well and focus on my job now. We leave my mother-in-law and the carer at home during the working hours. (Family employer 7, Interview1)

The aged care shortage, as identified in Taiwan, was a significant social problem which, in Blumer's terms, could be understood as the product "of a process of collective definition" (Blumer, 1971, p. 266) and the introduction of foreign carers, imposed to address this social problem. Employment of foreign carers provided a resource whereby adult children could fulfil their filial responsibility as legitimised in law. Social and political legitimation has the power to channel institutional change and to reshape people's behaviours.

In this research, the power of legitimation was related to the institution of the employment of foreign carers in Taiwan. Foreign carers are symbolic of the transnationalisation of aged care in Taiwan and also of a generational shift in the ways in which families conceive filial piety between the generations.

The employment of foreign carers for older people in the private sphere has thus become a culturally and politically legitimated aged care strategy. Hence, aged care practices and social values related to filial piety in Taiwan have been reshaped and social interactions, relationships and meanings between Taiwanese family members reconstructed.

5.6 SUMMARY

The introduction of foreign carers in Taiwan was a significant policy instituted by the government in response to industrialisation, demographic structural change and long-term care needs. Foreign carers were employed in private homes not only because of low cost, but because this form of care could conceivably fulfil the Taiwanese social value of filial piety. This political and social restructuring has served the interests of government and women. It has ensured a resource that allows Taiwanese women to remain in the workforce and to be liberated, to some extent, from the burden of care. The older person receiving care participants faced identity change because of both physical decline and the appearance of foreign carers in their lives. Changes in family relationships, aged care practices and social values in Taiwan are to be understood within the broader context of industrialisation and globalisation. *The reality of social change* reflected how aged care was transformed into a process of international economic exchange which influenced the life experiences of the family employers and older persons receiving care and redefined filial piety.

From a social constructionist perspective, legitimisation and social institutions provide guidance for human conduct and explain how the behaviour of individuals are both reshaped and constrained by social structures (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Within Taiwanese society, the realities of participants were constructed and reshaped through social interactions. Power relations and negotiations between participants were integral to the formation and reformation of the identities of the participants. For the foreign carers, management and control were crucial within the interactive processes. These issues are the focus of the following chapter wherein the analytic dimension of *resituating roles* and its analytic dimensions are explored.

Chapter 6: Resituating roles

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Resituating roles depicts how the differing positions and situations of foreign carers and their Taiwanese host family members were shaped through their everyday interactions within the global and Taiwanese social context. One of the research aims, understanding the social processes that construct the experience of employing foreign carers to care for older Taiwanese at home, is the focus of this chapter. Three concepts *making a choice*, *regulating foreign carers* and *surveillance* are explored below.

It was noted in the previous chapter that, as a government strategy, the employment of foreign carers has been one response to the issue of carer shortage. This phenomenon has, in turn, provided working opportunities for women from less developed countries. In the context of this research, labour exportation and importation has been facilitated through bilateral agreements between Taiwan, Indonesia and Vietnam. The concept of *making a choice* explicates the experiences of border crossings and the limited resources provided to the Indonesian and Vietnamese women for the purposes of preparing them for work as foreign carers. *Regulating foreign carers* reflects the formal and informal regulations surrounding the employment of foreign carers that produced and reproduced class and national differences. Mechanisms of control were imposed on foreign carers at both the national and domestic levels and this control was mediated through changing relations with families, between nation states and within the global economy. Finally, the concept of *surveillance* reflects the positioning of foreign carers and older persons receiving care within a domestic space. Here, family employers constructed an identity as “the boss” through communication and everyday practices. Furthermore, surveillance was used to manage and control both foreign carers and care receivers.

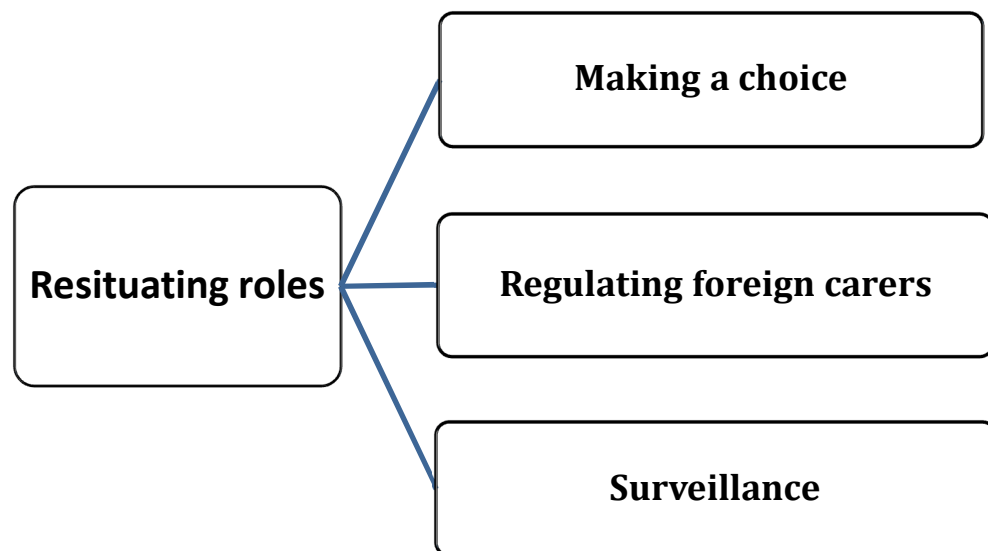


Figure 6-1 *The concepts underpinning the analytic dimension of “resituating roles”*

6.2 MAKING A CHOICE

Working abroad is not new for women in Southeast Asian countries. Since the 1970s, Filipina women have migrated in search of work. However, globalisation has brought about a rapid social transformation of developing countries over the past few decades and working opportunities related to carer shortage in the more industrialised countries have attracted large numbers of unskilled women from less developed countries. In Taiwan, economic development and a labour shortage, prompted the government to open the borders to foreign workers including carers. As a result and since 1992, Filipina, Indonesian and Vietnamese carers have been employed through bilateral agreements, negotiations and management by state governments. Many other developed countries also provide working opportunities for female workers from the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam. In Taiwan, Indonesian and Vietnamese carers represent the largest groups employed in the private sphere. The impetus for women to choose to work in Taiwan is complex and worthy of exploration. Furthermore, the pre-work preparation is crucial as it is an influential factor in constructing the everyday lives and working

experiences of foreign carers. *Making a choice* conceptualises the decision making and preparation for working in Taiwan by foreign carer participants.

Not surprisingly, economic motivation was the critical factor in influencing the Indonesian and Vietnamese carer participants to migrate to Taiwan. A decision to work in Taiwan as opposed to other countries was also shaped by the views of friends or relatives and by previous overseas working experiences. The image of Taiwan as a preferred destination was reflected in the comments from both Vietnamese and Indonesian women. The economic advantages attracted foreign carers because the minimum wage, at NT\$ 15,840 per month (US\$ 546), although less than half the minimum wage paid to local Taiwanese, was higher than in their own countries and judged to be higher than in other accessible host countries.

I can earn 16,000 NT dollars here, but I only received half this in Singapore. The job here (Taiwan) is not easy, but it is very similar to the job in Singapore. Both are not easy. Of course I want to get more money. (Foreign carer participant 5, Interview 1)

I have been to Malaysia, but I heard that we can make more money in Taiwan. That's why I came here to work. (Foreign carer participant 9, Interview 1)

I had lots of choices, such as working in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan or Singapore, but my decision was to come here (Taiwan). I can make more money here (Taiwan). I wanted to work in Taiwan because my husband was missing for several years. I need to make money for my son's education. There is nothing I can do in Indonesia because I only have an elementary school background. (Foreign carer participant 3, Interview 1)

Foreign carers migrate as foreign labour when the economic burden on families in home countries has become intractable (Elias, 2011; Griffina, 2007; Pettman, 2003). In Asia, although rapid economic development in some countries has been termed the Asian miracle, this phenomenon has exacerbated inequalities both between and within nations. As evident in this research, globalisation has given rise to a dual labour market where educated women have benefited from economic growth while poorer women have been forced to cross state borders to work as cheap

and casual labour (Pettman, 2003). Indeed, working as a foreign carer was one of a very limited range of wage earning options for the Indonesian and Vietnamese participants although an option available in many countries. Thus, it was the case that most foreign carer participants had worked previously in a number of countries including Hong Kong, Singapore or Saudi Arabia.

Within the global economic context national borders, in the traditional sense, have been eroded. Many billions of dollars in remittances are now sent back to the home nations of foreign workers every year and the export of labour is thus perceived as an essential strategy to modernise and industrialise these countries. According to World Bank figures, in 2010 \$325 billion (up from \$ 43.3 in 1980) was remitted to developing countries and unrecorded remittances were estimated to be 50% or more of this figure (The World Bank, 2011). The very steady increase in the number of female foreign workers deployed abroad is reflected in these statistics. It was estimated that, in 2003, about 750,000 female domestic workers from Southeast Asian countries were working in East Asia (Douglass, 2010). In effect, at least two million women in Southeast Asia have migrated for work-related reasons and unskilled women predominate as domestic workers (Elias, 2011; Hugo, 2006).

International labour employment processes have become an important feature of negotiations over trade and politics between nation states. Governments of both sending and receiving countries play a vital role in sustaining and managing transnational labour migration (Tran, 2011). Thus seeking out foreign labour markets for Southeast Asian countries is a social, political and economic strategy. Because the incomes of workers are low and high unemployment is an issue in the home countries (International Organization for Migration, 2003), the economic benefits noted above motivate governments of developing countries to export unskilled workers with little education and low productivity (Flanagan, 2006). The Indonesian government has been involved in the labour export industry since the 1980s with labour export promotion serving the dual purposes of exploiting favourable foreign exchange and reducing unemployment in Indonesia (International Organization for Migration, 2003). Compared to Indonesia, Vietnam officially entered the labour export market in East Asia quite late. National policies were instituted to address

problems of Vietnamese's low economic growth and high unemployment rate and in 1994 Vietnamese workers started to enter the East Asia markets (International Organization for Migration, 2003). The Vietnamese government has annual targets for the export of workers overseas (Anh, 2007, 2008; Douglass, 2010). For example, the government sought to export at least 87,000 workers overseas in 2011 and in the first three months of that year close to 20,000 Vietnamese workers moved overseas to work (Noi, 2011, April 21).

Hence a combination of economic hardship and government policy created options for women from Indonesia and Vietnam to work abroad and there are now over 175,000, or 88% of the total foreign carers, from these countries working in Taiwan (Council of Labor Affairs, 2012). However, work as a foreign carer means being located within a family of foreigners and working in conditions agreed upon between a broker and family employer. This reflects the restrictive, powerless and immobile nature of foreign carer work. Most of the foreign carer participants were unskilled women who had made what they felt was an inevitable decision to work outside their own countries. *I have no choice* was a shared expression from the participants in describing a struggle to survive.

I have no choice. If I did not come to Taiwan, I cannot support my three children. My husband ran away several years ago and my children keep spending money. (Foreign carer participant 3, Interview 2)

I have bad fate. My wages were bad in my country and I could not afford my oldest son's expenses. He just passed the entrance exam for university. Therefore, I came to Taiwan. (Foreign carer participant 13, Interview 1)

I want my children to have higher education certificates, but I have no money and no house at that moment. I want to build a house. Firstly, I went to work in Singapore and then Hong-Kong. Finally, I came to Taiwan. (Foreign carer participant 8, Interview 1)

While working in a domestic setting abroad is associated with vulnerability, high exploitation and abuse, the prevailing decision for the foreign carer participants was based on the economic interests of the whole family. The basic wage for a

foreign carer in Taiwan is protected by law. By comparison, the wages of foreign domestic workers are determined by employers in Hong Kong where over 80% of Indonesian domestic workers receive an average wage of HKD 3,320 (about NT\$12,620) and only 19% receive more than the average wage (Asian Migrant Centre, Indonesian Migrant Workers Union, & The Hong Kong Coalition of Indonesian Migrant Workers Organization, 2007). The higher wages that foreign carers receive in Taiwan means that more resources can be spent supporting family members in home countries and maintaining relationships with family members through international phone calls (Parreñas, 2005).

Although higher salaries are provided for foreign carers in regions such as North America and Europe, many have difficulty meeting the pre-requisites for working in those areas. For example, the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada offers better wages and protection of foreign carer working rights through the regulation of working hours and days off (Bourgeault, Parpia, & Atanackovic, 2010). Foreign carers also have the opportunity to apply for citizenship after two years working as live-in carers in Canada. However, the pre-requisites of language ability and the required six months of pre-employment training are rigid. This creates difficulties for Indonesian and Vietnamese workers who have lower education levels. Moreover, lower economic status means that these women cannot afford the higher placement fee required by recruitment agencies and brokers. By contrast, Philippine workers with more advanced English speaking capacity and often a college education have more success in attaining carer jobs in Canada.

Thus for Indonesian and Vietnamese women, working as foreign carers in Taiwan is more achievable because the education and skill requirements are not as prohibitive (International Labour Organisation, 2011b). While these conditions for securing work may be more flexible, the carers are allocated to Taiwanese families by labour brokers. Women carers are dependent upon placement by brokers because this industry has a monopoly over employment contracts. Therefore, the choice of a specific country as a working destination may be the only decision over which these women have control.

The participants also referred to other factors that shaped their decisions to work in Taiwan although the legally protected basic wage was significant.

Compared to people in other host countries, the Taiwanese treat us better. My friends told me that we would get into trouble and be punished very severely if making a mistake in an oil producing country. In Taiwan, if we are arrested by a policeman when running away, we will be sent back to our country after three months. That's it. In Taiwan, you can run away if you have enough money, but it is very difficult in oil producing countries. (Foreign carer 3, Interview 3)

My friend who was working in Taiwan chatted and exchanged information with me when I was working in Hong Kong. Working in Taiwan is better and safer. I can get help more quickly by making phone calls. Our problems are dealt with more quickly and seriously. (Foreign carer 2, Interview 1)

I went to Saudi Arabia when I was 19. The work there was very busy and hard. I stayed there for 2 and half years. My brother and my husband were in Taiwan and they wanted me to come here. (Foreign carer 7, Interview 1)

Seeking work to support family members and to improve family circumstances were reasons that compelled foreign carers to work in Taiwan. Some participants also perceived their actions as a means of pursuing personal freedom. However, the oppressive circumstances that the carers often had left behind were replaced by the authority of labour brokers who had overarching power in the migrant processes (Huang & Douglass, 2009). In order to affect this power over the foreign worker industry the brokers instituted overseas branches in Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippines (Lan, 2006a). This allowed for direct control over the processes of recruitment and training to maximise profits and thus to minimise time loss on arrival in Taiwan. The export and import of foreign labour had become a lucrative industry for private interests.

The processing of workers in both receiving and sending countries under the jurisdiction of brokers means that because migrant workers are economically tied to foreign working opportunities they are compelled to pay brokerage fees. However, women who migrate as carers are often the victims of incomplete or misguided

information provided by the brokers. This practice produced concern for carers even prior to leaving a home country.

I was cheated by the broker. He told me that I could earn thirty or forty thousand Taiwanese dollars per month in Taiwan as a nurse. He said that a doctor in Vietnam can work as a nurse in Taiwan. I didn't know the truth until I arrived in Taiwan. Chinese is very difficult to learn and I needed to look after an older patient soon after arriving here. I was not allowed to go back home because the broker didn't get money. My wage is not much, under 18,000 dollars per month, and the broker took me 10,800 dollars every month for about 19 months. It was hard for me. (Foreign carer 13, Interview 1)

We didn't know who would be our bosses when we were still in Indonesia. I was thinking about what kind of boss I will have? Good or bad? Then, I thought I should look at the bright side in terms of making money abroad. Don't look on the black side. On my first day in Taiwan, I was very sad and kept crying and crying when looking at my dinner because I was thinking about my daughters. Did they eat their dinners? (Foreign carer 4, Interview 1)

In my hometown, I was the first to come to work in Taiwan. I was so scared, but I thought that it should be OK if I work very hard. I just feared that I had no money. (Foreign carer 8, Interview 1)

The recruitment industry influences the living conditions, incomes and lives of foreign workers in Taiwan because the processes of labour import and export between developing and developed countries are mediated and facilitated by these agencies (Wang & Belanger, 2011). For the foreign carer participants, the brokerage fee was overtly exploitative, but the minimum wage motivated their pursuit of work in Taiwan.

The burden of brokerage fees restricted the already few choices of the foreign carers and undermined any leverage they may have had with family employers. Broker fees and expenses prior to foreign carer arrival in Taiwan was the equivalent of 10 to 15 months' wages (AU \$3,000 to 7,500). *It is hard work, but I have to try to tolerate it* was a common expression from the participant carers. Broker loans and remittances home were shouldered by foreign carers. The threat of deportation was

also a useful strategy in keeping foreign carers in exploitive circumstances. Host family members also used brokers to discipline carers.

She is good now. At the beginning, she went out often and did not obey me. One day, I didn't feel well and she was not at home. I told my son about this situation. Then, the broker came and wanted to take the carer away. She knelt down and kept asking me to forgive her and to let her work here. At one stage she answered the mobile phone often around midnight. Because we sleep in the same room, I was disturbed and couldn't sleep. The broker came again the next day and she asked me to forgive her again and again. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview 1)

Firstly, we employed a temporary foreign carer (illegal) for a short period but she couldn't understand and speak Taiwanese. Then, we changed to another foreign carer (who) was very lazy and we called the broker to take her away. We didn't tell her that we wanted to terminate her working contract until the broker came. She asked us, "Where the broker will take me to?" (Older persons receiving care 3, Interview 1)

The placement of foreign workers was (and remains) a very profitable business for brokers and private recruitment agencies. The system allowed for these brokers to negotiate directly with Taiwanese family employers and thus to enable the employment of legal and illegal foreign carers. For legal foreign carers, "to obey or to return home" reflects the limited choice and the reality of foreign carers' working situations (Cheng, 2006, p. 78). For illegal foreign carers the situation was far more ominous.

After making a decision to work in Taiwan as carers, the Indonesian and Vietnamese carers were required to conform to training and placement processes as dictated by the recruitment agencies. Yet because foreign carers are viewed primarily in terms of profit the cost of providing training programs was considered a controllable expense. In terms of the social transformational process of moving from family carer to paid carer, the concepts of "privatisation" and "marketisation" defined the relationships between care receivers and care providers as consumers and entrepreneurs (Knijn, 2000). The factors of profit, efficiency and effectiveness are connected to this consumer-entrepreneur care model (Knijn, 2000) where foreign

carers constitute a profit making tool and the provision of training for carers is a profit consuming procedure. This meant that the labour brokers could provide limited or inadequate preparation which created difficulties for the carers on reaching Taiwan. Indeed none, or up to three-months, of training was offered to participants by any agency. Where training was provided it included cleaning, cooking, some caring skills and information about Taiwanese and Chinese culture. Rather than education, producing the optimal servant to match Taiwanese employer needs was the key objective of these training courses.

I had one month of training before coming to Taiwan. I lived in the company building because it took me over ten hours to get there by bus. (Foreign carer 7, Interview 1)

I stayed with the company for about three months before coming here. Actually, I got a job very quickly, but I was waiting for my visa and passport at that time. Following the schedule, we learned Chinese speaking, cooking, cleaning and caring for older people. I knew my job was to take care of older people in Taiwan. (Foreign carer 1, Interview 2)

I didn't have any training and just came here directly. I learned to speak Chinese by talking to Taiwanese or Indonesians I met here. Just like the experience I had in Hong Kong. It was very painful. I didn't know anything here and it was very difficult to learn. I can't talk and I didn't know how to cook. My first boss taught me how to do everything. Sometimes I wrote things down and asked the translator. (Foreign carer 2, Interview 1)

The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2003) has noted that most migrant workers in Asia lack access to pre-work training from official organisations. In Japan, a so-called four-year training program is provided for Indonesian and Philippine prospective carers based on free-trade agreements between governments. Nonetheless the period of training involves at least three years working full time as a carer and an examination to be undertaken by foreign carers after four years is rigorous. In 2012, only 35 out of 104 potential carers passed the national qualification exam (Kyodo, 2012, June 20). Here government control of labour movement into Japan takes the guise of a preparation for work program.

Information related to working and living conditions, rights and responsibilities and resources are provided in some countries to help workers prepare for living abroad. Compared with the largely unregulated system of foreign carer training in Taiwan, the Live-in Caregiver Program in Canada provides protection for both foreign carers and care receivers. Foreign carers in Canada have to undertake at least six months formal full-time pre-work training, complete successfully an equivalent of Canadian secondary school education and also have good knowledge of one of Canadian official languages (Bourgeault, et al., 2010). As noted earlier, however, entry of migrant carers to Canada is carefully controlled through language requisites and other criteria.

There has been some progress in respect to pre-work training in developing countries. A program was first put in place in the Philippines in 1983 by Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). Filipina carers are educated by the Philippine government and the International Labour Organisation protects working rights and therefore Filipina workers have a greater ability to negotiate their position as migrant workers. In 2003, the government of Nepal started a similar training program for their workers prior to their movement abroad. For Indian construction workers, some skill training programs are also provided by NGOs. According to the ILO (International Labour Organisation, 2006, pp. 13-15), the working right of domestic workers are protected by policies around the right to just and humane treatment; to protection against involuntary servitude, to debt bondage and trafficking; to social protection and to privacy. Recreation and maternity leave are also embedded in law and domestic workers including carers are protected from being forced to work in places other than their legitimate workplace.

The coverage of working rights provided for Filipina carers may explain why the stereotype of Filipina workers in Taiwan is portrayed as “smart”, “autonomous”, “conscious of labour rights” and “difficult to manage”. By contrast, Indonesian and Vietnamese carers are perceived as those who have little knowledge of immigration procedures and working rights and “this makes them cheaper and more vulnerable workers” (IOM, 2003. p. 23).

Short training courses and basic information was provided to those workers migrating to Taiwan and apparently with the objective of preparing the foreign carers as compliant workers for Taiwanese family employers.

I didn't have a great fear of coming to Taiwan because the teacher in the training centre told me that Taiwanese employers are good to us. The boss will give me food and money and treat me well. The only thing I should do is work hard. If the boss is not good, I can get help. They gave me some information sheets. (Foreign carers 5, Interview 1)

As a result of a lack of clear commitment from the Taiwanese government to mitigate violations of human rights, Indonesian and Vietnamese carers are more likely to be isolated and unable to advocate for their rights. This might explain why labour brokers prefer to recruit female workers who are from rural areas and with no working experience in Taiwan. This corresponds with significant reduction in migrant Filipina women workers in Taiwan (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2004, 2011) and suggests that Indonesian and Vietnamese carers are more readily exploited over working hours and working environments.

Although the Taiwanese government has long advocated a direct hiring program as a strategy to undermine the foreign labour broker industry, such a system was not instituted until the last day of 2011. On January 1, 2012, the Direct Hiring Service Centre in Taiwan was commenced to provide services for Thai, Vietnamese and Filipina workers who have not previously worked in Taiwan and to allow Taiwanese to employ foreign workers through an online system (Xue, 2011). Indeed, approximately 30,200 foreign workers were employed on their second or third working contracts through the system between 2008 to 2011 and neither foreign workers nor their employers paid brokerage fees (about NT\$ 63,486 each case) and the application process were shortened within one month (Direct Hiring Service Center, 2011). Prior to 2006, a working contract connected to a brokerage fee restricted the capacity of foreign workers to change employers. The Taiwanese government relaxed the restrictions whereby family employers could determine a change in employment situation in the event of the death of a care recipient, any abused noted by employers, failure to comply with the employment contract and with the agreements of current and future employers.

Yet, there were immediate factors that dissuaded family employer participants from using the system. For example, in contrast to the brokerage fee charged to family employers, foreign carers often pay four or five times the amount. Family employers could negotiate with brokers to pay less because the brokers earn more money from a newly employed foreign carer. As noted above, many family employers also depend on the services of brokers in managing foreign carers.

The broker was introduced by my son and he deals with every kind of problem. Just call the broker and he will help me. (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1)

For us, the policy (of direct hiring) is too complex. We are too old to understand the policy and we have difficulty in getting to the airport to wait for our foreign carer. I paid NT\$10,000 and the broker dealt with the whole process. Indeed, looking after older parent is very difficult for us. I have no time to deal with that process (Family employer 14, Interview 1)

The foreign carer told me that we can apply for her health insurance or other applications by ourselves to save her money. We employer consider is that we don't have that kind of American-time to do it by ourselves. The broker does those things appropriately. (Family employer 7, Interview 1)

The expressions of family employer participants provided one perspective on why only a small number of foreign workers were employed through the direct hiring system. Tierney (2007, p 206) also pointed out, however, that powerful corporate and state interests “successfully stymied the direct hiring policy in order to preserve a corrupt and lucrative system of kickbacks”.

Although progress has been made in terms of direct hiring agreements and change of employment under specific conditions, the working rights of foreign workers are situated between a rock and a hard place. Between 2003 and 2006, approximately 65,750 foreign workers successfully changed their employers and on average 16,439 foreign workers changed employer every year (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2007). This means that given the total number of foreign workers in Taiwan (340,000 to 410,000), over 95% of foreign workers were tied to their working

contracts and this is some indication that for many options remained constrained. Working in domestic situation compounds the difficulties of negotiating agreements with employers. Even where foreign workers were subject to abuse by family employers or older persons they had limited recourse to reporting the abuse or changing working location.

I pushed the wheel chair and grandpa to do his rehabilitation in a hospital three times a week and it took me over an hour to get him there. Usually, my boss let me have my lunch about 3. Sometimes, I felt so hungry and ran out of energy to push grandpa back home. Moreover, I get up between 6 to 7 and go to bed about 2 or 3 am. It was a hard work, but I had no choice because I have three kids. Last year, my boss sued me because grandpa fell down accidentally when I was doing housework. She wanted me to take care of grandpa for free and wanted me to pay NT \$ 60,000 in compensation. I had no time to go through the process. I needed to make money for my family because I didn't get paid for 3 months. I promised to pay the compensation first; otherwise I can't get my second working contract in Taiwan. Even though she was banned from employing a new carer because I was abused, I still needed to pay to get the chance to change my boss. (Foreign carer12 Interview2)

Limited resources and insufficient information for foreign workers were obvious issues as these carers were isolated in domestic settings. For example, when a “1995” foreign workers protection free line was installed to provide counselling and refuge for foreign workers in Taiwan in July 2009, the service centre received over 28,000 calls and 57.36% of these calls were made by foreign carers and 4.81% by foreign domestics within the first six months (Council of Labor Affairs, 2010). Moreover, the majority of calls were related to issues of contract, wage and broker of foreign workers (Council of Labor Affairs, 2010).

The expectation is that if direct hiring is successful, the power of recruitment agencies and brokers will be weakened. However, only one out of forty-four family employer participants had used the direct hiring service to process a foreign carer's second contract. The perception was that the process was time-consuming and complex. As Tierney (2007) also pointed out, the direct hiring service had been “stymied” because brokers and state institutions gain kickbacks from brokerage fees. However, this research also found that the system has a competitive advantage for

family employers and has meant that the brokerage fee can be negotiated. Where family employer participants previously paid service fees of up to NT\$ 35,000 they are now able to secure a lesser fee or, as in one case, the free service of the broker. The foreign carers now also use this system to undercut the brokerage fee.

We have three brothers who share the caring of my mother. It's very difficult to negotiate issues related to cost, money and other processes. The broker is in a good position to deal with our needs. We would like to depend on the broker's help rather than use the direct hiring service to employ the foreign carer. My foreign carer introduced a broker to us and he provides a free service for us. Indeed, the broker is using the direct hiring system to process our carer's second contract. He can only earn NT\$1,500 every month for 3 years from the carer in the future. (Family employer 17, Interview 1)

According to the experience of one family employer participant, relationships between the foreign carer and families were closer after using the direct hiring service because the carer can manage her wage without deduction.

The first time she came here she had to pay the broker fee about NT\$ 50,000. She used the wage deductions to pay for it over 10 months. Moreover, she had to pay a further monthly brokerage fee of NT\$1800. It's her second working contract here and I used the direct hiring service system to save her money. There were five formal processes and I dealt with it by myself. Paid the fee, mailed the documents to Tainan and mailed it to Taipei.....It's a very good policy.After this, I can tell that she deeply appreciated my kindness. She works very hard to look after my wife and is also very loyal to me. Because I treat her very well, she treats us well, too. (Family employer 13, Interview 1)

However, negative discourses and narratives relate to using the direct hiring services were promoted intentionally on websites by private recruitment agencies. In order to ensure economic benefits through recruitment and placement processes of foreign workers, these discourses are constructed to influence decisions-making of employers and a position and function of these agencies are constructed as important mediators and helper who can ensure quality of care and work in households of foreign carers. For example, a private recruitment agency placed the following promotion on a website (SouthEast Asia Group, 2012a):

Our customer, Miss Lee, said she made a right decision by using our services when dealing with her carer's second contract. Otherwise, she might get into trouble now. She said, "My broker told me that the

only one advantage of using the direct hiring service is to help my carer to save her brokage fee. I would get nothing. Moreover, I have to take days off in order to deal with the complicated processes. I may make mistakes and then get fine or get a cancel of the employment of a foreign carer. The broker also told me that our carer has the potential to change her attitude and become bad through his observations. So the broker suggested me to give up the decision of using the direct hiring services.....I really appreciate the professional help of my broker. If I use the direct hiring service, no one can help me now.

Evidence indicates that brokers and the recruitment agencies are making efforts to protect their recruitment industry and to minimise the influence of the direct hiring service. Furthermore, the majority (over 75%) of foreign carers are from Indonesia and a direct hiring system between Taiwan and Indonesia is not available. About 180,000 Indonesian workers were working in Taiwan in 2012 and over 80% (150,000) are women working in the domestic sphere (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2012). Thus, Indonesian women domestics and carers continue to be controlled by private recruitment agencies and brokers.

The combination of policy and brokerage loans strengthened family employers' authority over foreign carers. This manifested in an expectation of conformity to the Taiwanese lifestyle where there were significant cultural, religious and lifestyle differences. Communication was a predictable issue between host family members and Indonesian and Vietnamese carers because the majority of foreign carers had difficulty in speaking Chinese or Taiwanese. Foreign carers were expected to learn Chinese and Taiwanese through their interactions with host family members. Language was therefore a symbol of control. Lan (2003) argued that the English proficiency of Filipina carers was considered a drawback by Taiwanese family employers because the capacity to speak English increased the bargaining ability of foreign carers. Filipina workers could access information and resources more easily than Indonesian and Vietnamese carers. Thus, Lan (2003, p.156) referred to language as "a symbolic domination" used by family employers to downplay the position of foreign carers.

We see from the above that foreign carers face systematic exploitative and complex procedures before departing for work abroad. Brokers, recruitment agencies, sponsors and governments share the profits from the placement processes (Asian Migrant Centre, et al., 2007; Wang & Belanger, 2011). In Vietnam, people who desire to work overseas first must register, a process that directs profit to local governments which are then responsible for introducing this labour force to recruitment agencies. Those same government bodies also charge an annual tax of between US\$ 970 to US\$ 1,140 to Vietnamese workers while they are abroad (Wang & Belanger, 2011). Private recruitment agencies in Vietnam often rent legal licences from official labour exporting institutes to deal with labour export processes and these private recruitment agencies charge expensive recruitment fees to cover costs and to ensure a profit (Wang & Belanger, 2011).

In Indonesia, the role of sponsor is significant during the placement process. Sponsors are those local people who are used by private recruitment agencies or brokers to recruit prospective female workers who have no working experience overseas and can be trained as servants (Lan, 2006b). These sponsors who often have a good reputation and some influence in local communities, act as mediators between brokers and foreign carers' families and help the brokers and private agencies regulate foreign carers (Lan, 2006b). Training centres are used to detain workers before departure (Asian Migrant Centre, et al., 2007). The duration of training courses of individuals is determined by working opportunities provided in Taiwan. Indeed, private agencies, brokers and sponsors intentionally withhold information from workers and thus these workers can be marketed and controlled as docile followers (Asian Migrant Centre, et al., 2007; Lan, 2006b).

Since 2003, there has been a popular collective movement working towards establishing a Household Service Act for the rights of foreign carers. The Taiwan International Workers' Association, researchers and other non-profit organisations continue to lobby for this policy (Ku, 2009). According to the Draft Household Service Act (Taiwan International Workers Association, 2004), working hours, days off, labour insurance protection, private respect and other rights of foreign carers should be protected. Nonetheless, even though the ILO (2011a) passed the new

international labour standards towards domestic workers, the Household Service Act for protecting foreign domestics and carers in Taiwan is still an ongoing process.

As noted above, foreign carer participants make the choice of destination before going abroad and are then processed and managed by the international human resource industrial chains. Indeed, female carers who have no work experience in Taiwan are preferred by brokers and family employers. This is because these carers lack bargaining power and can be readily placed in any working situation. The assumption of brokers and family employers is that foreign carers who speak Chinese or have former work experience in Taiwan may communicate with local people and make comparisons of work situations. Moreover, it is perceived that these carers are more likely to abscond from the work setting to become illegal workers in Taiwan.

If you want a smart foreign carer, you should hire someone who has former experience. However, foreign carers with former working experiences in Taiwan are oily and smart. I prefer to hire someone who has no experience, but it takes 3 to 6 months to train her because she doesn't know anything. (Family employer 13, Interview 1)

She became the big sister for other foreign carers and foreign carers who have problems all come to her. She became clever and manipulative. Do you think I should hire her again? I let her go and hired a new one. (Family employer 6, Interview 1)

The essential characteristic of the ideal carer is the demeanour of servitude to ensure control. The role of brokers and private agencies is to reinforce this vulnerability of foreign carers. The social and cultural environment in Taiwan differs from those of Indonesia and Vietnam, such as in language use, cultural and religious backgrounds and life styles. Thus, these carers are more readily controlled and isolated in domestic settings. Foreign carers take considerable risks in seeking out work in Taiwan.

As noted earlier, the geographical movement of Indonesian and Vietnamese carers was influenced by policies in the home nations and the pulling power of host

countries. In Taiwan, the employment of foreign carers was underpinned by welfare state arrangements that relied heavily on family care provision. Thus while the fate of the foreign carers initially depended upon the decision-making of the women, underlying their employment were economic and social power relations. These relations were mediated by regulatory processes that were both formal and informal.

6.3 REGULATING FOREIGN CARERS

Regulating foreign carers portrays the process whereby foreign labour was officially introduced into Taiwan and Taiwanese families sought to normalise their lives following employment of foreign carers. Providing opportunities for foreign workers means not only opening borders to developing countries through economic and political means but also controlling the flow of labour. Issues related to social control and management are the concern of both the Taiwanese government and families. The result was that the foreign carer participants in Taiwan were forced to work under political and legal control but were largely unprotected from exploitation at the household level. As Cheng (2003) argued, the responsibility to control and contain foreign labour at homes lies largely with family employers. Furthermore, the protection of foreign carers from harm, abuse and exploitation was problematic because the joint goals of the majority of labour receiving countries were to pursue economic development and to minimise labour costs.

Two levels of regulation of foreign carers exist within this context. The first operates through economic and political policies imposed by the Taiwanese government. These policies are negotiated on the basis of economic and political interests that shape the situations of foreign carers. A second level of regulation of foreign carers exists within the private sphere and is imposed by family employers. The way in which family employers and older persons receiving care sought to control the lives of foreign carers is addressed later in this chapter.

International legislation and collaborative relationships exist between countries because prosperity and reciprocity are mutual goals for both labour sending and

receiving countries. Migrant agreements are shaped and reshaped by relationships between different state governments. Former and existing migration movements are also essential factors that inform regulation. For example, only nationals from specified countries are permitted to work in Taiwan as low-skilled foreign workers, such as those from Vietnam, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, and Malaysia. These workers are only employed in specific categories such as production work and not as supervisors, managers or in any professional capacity (Council of Labor Affairs, 2012). Thus the Taiwanese government formulates regulation in such a way that it distinguishes foreign workers from other workers and protects resources and working labour opportunities for nationals.

Nation states, in pursuing economic growth, import cheap labour through negotiated agreements with governments of migrant-sending countries (Tierney, 2007). An economic advantage means that the Taiwanese government is situated in a superior position when negotiating work opportunities and political issues with other regional governments. However, migrant workers not only constitute supplementary labour for more developed countries but are a convenient political tool in negotiations over diplomatic issues. The working rights of migrant workers therefore do not have primacy for governments of host countries.

The first time I came here to work was in 1998. It is more convenient for me to work here, but that was the year when we Indonesians were not allowed to come to work. Then, I went to work in Brunei. I stayed there only one year after entry to Taiwan was reopened. I told my employer there that my mother-in-law needed my care because of her health problems. Then I came here, but the employer didn't give me my two months wages because I didn't finish the contract there. (Foreign carer 4, Interview 1)

I am lonely here. We Vietnamese are not allowed to care for patients in homes in Taiwan. Many of my friends finished their working contracts and went back to Vietnam. (Foreign carer 1, Interview 2)

The strategy of importing foreign carers as a social product of globalisation is reminiscent of the essential argument of George Simmel (1978, 1991), that money use is a tragedy inherent in modern society. Official agreements and policies and the fate of foreign carers are all influenced by the money economy as human life is

increasingly dictated by the international movement of capital. In Simmel's terms, money as a medium of exchange allows people to seek to satisfy their individual needs and this exchange promotes contact with a greater range of social interactions with different people (Laura Desfor & Scott, 2010; Simmel, 1978). However, emotional connections, loyalty and traditional values within social relationships can be replaced easily through money exchange actions and can become impersonal, superficial and fragmented (Laura Desfor & Scott, 2010; Simmel, 1978, 1991). For the Indonesian and Vietnamese employed in the domestic sphere in Taiwan, relationships were standardised and largely connected through the instrumental process of money exchange.

A vast proportion of employment in the global care industry is contract work and as such these workers are prohibited from securing permanent citizenship in host countries. The Taiwanese government has readily pronounced that the workers largely come to take on the more dangerous and demanding jobs that locals seek to avoid (Cheng, 2003; Tierney, 2007). The rights and benefits of foreign workers are therefore of secondary interest. In appeasing local interests the government (Council for Labour Affairs, 2011) has noted that there is no imperative for Taiwan to accept immigrants because the population is highly concentrated on a small island and thus foreign workers are employed only as supplementary labour. These are "guest workers" for the economic development in Taiwan and should not influence local working opportunities and conditions. The strategy of subcontracting aged care to foreign carers is similarly reshaping the global care work processes whereby the care burden is transferred from families to the less powerful and poorer Indonesian and Vietnamese carers (Misra, Woodring, & Merz, 2006; Wichterich, 2002).

Hence, the reshaping of care work as a global market process is full of tensions and contradictions because rigid restrictions and regulations give rise to other human-centred issues and boundaries (Lan, 2006b; Wang & Belanger, 2011; Wichterich, 2002). Hence the low-skilled foreign carer is powerless and vulnerable to the restrictions imposed by foreign countries. Evidence shows that temporary bans have been imposed at particular historical moments on the employment of migrant workers. For example, the Council of Labour Affairs of the Taiwanese government

banned application processing of Indonesian workers in August, 2002, reportedly in response to issues related to Indonesian workers. The Indonesian government was forced to deal with issues related to broker fees, deposits and a high rate of absconding (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2005). A private visit of Taiwan's president, Chen Shui-Bian, was cancelled in December, 2002, because of the Indonesian government's opposition. It is believed that the ban of importing new Indonesian workers was also a political act on the part of the Taiwanese government (Lan, 2006b). Bilateral agreements and policies between Taiwan and Indonesia were redefined through several meetings and in December, 2004, Indonesian workers were again permitted to work in Taiwan (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2005).

In January 2005, similar bans were put in place in relation to Vietnamese workers and again supposedly in response to high rates of absconding (Council of Labor Affairs, 2005). It is estimated that over 16,500 foreign workers left work situations without permission between 1992 and 2004 and over half of these were from Vietnam (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2009). Yet the act of banning the entry of foreign workers was not obviously going to reduce the rate of absconding and particularly if the cause was severely exploitative working conditions.

More recently, regulation of the employment of foreign workers was used to negotiate political issues between Taiwan and the Philippines. According to the *Focus Taiwan* (Wang, 2012, February 02) 14 Taiwanese suspects were sent to China by the Philippines government in February 2011 which resulted in tension between the two countries. Taiwan countered by announcing stricter screening of applications for Filipina workers. The application process was extended from 12 days to four months and visa regulations were tightened. These strategies prompted a swift reaction on the part of Philippines President, Fidel Ramos and an emissary, Manuel Roxas II, who travelled to Taiwan to negotiate with the Taiwanese government. According to ABS-CBN News in March 2011, the restriction on Filipina workers was lifted and more than 1000 new workers arrived in Taiwan.

The imposition of temporary bans, as noted above, reflects the economic bargaining power that the Taiwanese government holds over some other governments and the extent to which foreign workers have become a political bargaining tool in international negotiations. In such circumstances, the rights of foreign workers are secondary and rigid migrant regulations are used to restrain and manage these workers. Border control agendas and rigid citizenship policies ensure an inferior situation for foreign workers in Taiwan.

All of the above reflects the extent to which the foreign worker is constructed as an outsider (Lee, 2008). As Cheng (2003, p.184) writes about foreign domestics in Taiwan:

...the management of foreign domestics at home is not only important for labour control but also central to the state's administration of its alien subjects. It ensures their exclusion from the nation as well as from the society as a whole.

Regular health checks, renewal of working contracts, the rights to become a permanent citizen, to change employers, to bring family members into Taiwan and to marry a Taiwanese within a working contract period are denied to foreign workers. Furthermore, there is a significant disjuncture between migrant policies applied to foreign professionals and low-skilled foreign workers in Taiwan. According to the news (Chen, 2012, June 20), entrepreneurs openly argue that a minimum wage for low-skilled foreign workers should be relinquished in order to attract more investment, to control costs and to increase competition in Taiwan. By comparison, Taiwan seeks to attract foreign investment and more foreign white collar professionals by offering greater incentives and lowering entry requirements.

Conflict also occurred between host families and foreign carers and was underpinned by cultural differences. Different dietary practice and religious rituals were used to diminish the customs of foreign carers and to reinforce Taiwanese culture as superior.

The former carer didn't want to eat pork, but eats beef. That was very difficult for me because we ate meals together and I don't eat beef.

This carer eats pork and sausage. (Older persons receiving care 3, Interview 1)

She is stubborn. Because of her behaviours I can understand why the religious war happened. She was not convinced to drink any water during the fast day. I said to her. "Your God is far away. He can't see you and you can just drink some water." She refused. How can she do so many things without drinking water and eating? There were photos of her God on the wall in her room. She prayed in front of the pictures. They are radicalised people. It's the reason of the religious war. (Family employer 6, Interview 1)

Because the majority of Indonesian carers are Muslims, religious conflict is a common occurrence between Taiwanese family employers and foreign carers over issues such as eating pork and praying ceremonies. According to news report (Bauer, 2010, May 16; Wu, 2010, May 10), foreign carers have been forced to eat pork by their employers which had severely undermined their mental health status. A similar news report was reported internationally in May 2010 and Indonesian female workers held a protest in Taipei to call for protection of their human rights specifically related to this issue (Refused to eat pork-a Indonesian carer kneel down, 2010 May 17). In response the government gave support to more protection for foreign carers. In August, 2011, the Taiwanese government introduced new clauses to ostensibly provide more protection for foreign carers. According to Article 46 of the Regulations on the Permission and Administration of the Employment of Foreign Workers, employers should respect cultural and religious differences, food taboos and the privacy of foreign workers. However, this imposes on employers a responsibility without any accountability mechanism.

Racism and nationalism reinforced by legislative provisions and popular discourses played an important role in shaping the relationships in the research context. Although both foreign carer participants and Taiwanese participants (older persons receiving care and family employers) perceived differences and conflicts in living and working together, foreign carer participants were expected to obey and to act within the Taiwanese group norms. "Neither here nor there" reflected the transnational status of foreign workers as they face difficulties of cultural, class and identity change in host countries (Huang, Yeoh, & Lam, 2008, p. 7). Taiwanese

family members were focused on managing carers and the carers on being cooperative in the working environment in order to achieve economic goals.

For foreign carers, learning how to communicate with host families was integral as “symbolic communication is the basis for human cooperation” and “human society depends on ongoing symbolic communication” (Charon, 2007, p. 62). Burr (2003, pp.7-8) also indicates that language is essential to the conduct of social acts and it is as a form of social action as:

We are born into a world where the conceptual frameworks and categories used by the people in our culture already exist.... Concepts and categories are acquired by each person as they develop the use of language and are thus reproduced every day by everyone who shares a culture and a language.... (and) the way a person thinks, the very categories and concepts that provided a framework of meaning for them, are provided by the language they use.

Strategies were developed to deal with the practical problems of daily interactions.

I was just like a mute at the beginning. I wrote down the pronunciations and put many pieces of paper on the refrigerator, salt can and everywhere to remind myself. The grandma didn't eat spicy and salty food and I know how to cook for her. (Foreign carer 4, Interview 1)

At the beginning, she always answered me: “Yes” or “OK”, but I was not sure that she really knew the meanings. We used some simple English words to communicate first and then I sent her to a school to study Chinese. She now can understand and communicate with me. (Family employers 15, Interview 1)

I can't understand Chinese and can't cook. It was very difficult and I tried to learn. For example, I asked my boss the name of the vegetable and then wrote it down. I reviewed it every night. It scared me because I didn't know how to speak Chinese and do the job. I learned to recognise the Chinese herbs steadily because my boss wants me to get some herbs from the storage quite often. (Foreign carer 6, Interview 2)

While the daily conditions of foreign carers were shaped by government broker and family interests, foreign carers were largely powerless to negotiate within the

context of the household. This is reflected in the following comments of one older persons receiving care and a family employer:

My suggestion is that you (foreign carer) should listen to and obey your employers' words to meet the requirements. Eating habits and life styles can be different in different places. You need to cooperate with your boss. Her working quality is getting better now. It was bad at the beginning. (Older persons receiving care 12, Interview 1)

She took about 6 months to adjust to our lifestyle here. We had some disagreement related to misunderstanding, language barriers and different life styles at the beginning. My sister-in-law treated her as a slave and wanted her to do lots of things without respect. The carer was very angry about that because she thought my sister-in-law was not her boss. She didn't need to obey her rules. My husband and I were very annoyed by their relationship because the carer is hired for my mother-in-law. One is my sister-in-law and the other one is my helper. I am frustrated. (Family employer 14, Interview 1)

Relationships between foreign carers, family employers and older persons receiving care are highly complex, unequal and discriminatory. This is because private and public boundaries are blurred to facilitate care. Domestic work was expected to be undertaken and foreign carers at time were required to work for the private businesses of family employers or to undertake work, such as child care, unrelated to their care of an older person. Where the working rights of foreign workers in factories, on construction sites and in nursing homes are protected by the Labour Standards Law, those of foreign carers in the private sphere are largely determined by the family employers.

In our opinion, "Filipina maid" is recognised to deal with the housework. She may help my father's personal care. Sometimes, two persons are needed to provide personal care for my father. She can provide her company for my father when walking out. Moreover, she can take over my mother's duty. We expected that a foreign carer can deal with the housework and share my mother's working duty related to our family business (restaurant). Then, my mother can focus on taking care of my father. I was worried about the care quality at the beginning because the foreign carer did not have the health training background. She just came to deal with the housework and some other things. (Family employer 3, Interview 1)

I live with grandpa and grandma now. My job is to take care of them, cook and do the housework. And, I go to clean another house once a week and it belongs to grandma's younger sister. (Foreign carer 3, Interview 1)

At the beginning, we employed a foreign carer for my father in law after his stroke. After my father in law passed away, we used other people's name to employ the same carer again and again because we needed someone to deal with our housework. She has worked for us over ten years and we trust her. We also employ her younger sister because our family business needs them to deal with our cleaning and housework. (Family employer 22, Focus group interview 1)

My father is in a nursing home now and the carer only does housework. I told her: if you don't want to do it, you can go home. Health professionals are looking after my father now. She said that she wanted to stay and work. After finishing our housework at home, she even goes to my shop and helps me there every day (Family employer 28, Focus group interview 2)

The term “Filipina maid”, pronounced “*Fei-Yong*” in Chinese, is considered symbolic of a foreign domestic worker in Taiwan. It may be because female Filipina domestic workers represent one of the largest populations of contract workers in the world and were also the first group of foreign workers to enter Taiwan as domestic workers. Even though the foreign carer participants were not from the Philippines, family employer participants referred to their carers as “*Fei-Yong*”. Similarly, family employer participants noted that a “*Gan*” was employed to care for the older person. The word “*Gan*” used in reference to the foreign carer carries the meaning of slave or servant. Family employers expected that foreign carers would shoulder both domestic and care responsibilities and obey their orders as well as those of the older persons receiving their care.

The foreign carer participants experienced not only poor working conditions, but also often quite miserable living environments. As one foreign carer noted, her job was *really hard work*. Family members used spatial segregation to maintain their privacy and security but the majority of foreign carers were denied a private space for resting and living. As an example, often foreign carers slept in the same space as older carer receivers. Most slept in the same room and some in the same beds.

Her mattress is next to my mother's bed. The problem is that my mother wants to listen to the Chinese operas every night and it may influence her sleeping quality. (Family employer 5, Interview 1)

Because our house is small and the sickbed of my father-in-law is placed in the living room, she has to sleep on the sofa. (Family employer 10, Interview 1)

They gave me a private room, but I sleep on the sofa every night to make sure that grandpa can't go out. (Foreign carer 5, Interview 1)

Being situated within the household as an employer represented a blurring of public and private boundaries. In other words, the household as the workplace rendered the foreign carer powerless to address exploitive working conditions. Anderson (2002) found that families in Europe preferred to employ live-in migrant carers because employers could extract more labour and leave upkeep and household duties to these employees. Although the migrant workers were employed as carers, they were in no position to refuse requests from employers that they undertake other than carer work (Anderson, 2002). This is similar to the situation of foreign carers in Taiwan. While policies recognise a distinction between the work of foreign carers and that of foreign domestics the norm was that family employers required foreign carers to take on domestic duties.

Although foreign carers were introduced to Taiwan over 19 years ago, housework and work in the private businesses of family employers were the most common examples of breach of policy. In fact, the conditions of 24 hours on-call, no designated days off, and responsibility for housework are commonly imposed working requirements for foreign carers. These conditions of work were deemed covert through the isolation of carers achieved by preventing contact with those outside the home.

Recently, I had to clean the whole house during the daytime before Chinese New Year. Grandpa (older persons receiving care) doesn't sleep during the night time and I can't sleep because of work. I am so tired because I can't sleep and I need to do the housework during the day (Foreign carer 11, Interview 1)

When she takes a break, she goes to her own room and shuts the door for privacy. We would knock on her door if we needed her. I said to her that she needed to keep an eye on my grandfather 24 hours a day. However, she felt that it was her resting time after eight o'clock at night. So if my grandfather called her in the evening, she was more reluctant to react, unless we knocked her door and reminded her. (Family employer11, Interview 1)

My wife is bed ridden. The carer follows my wife's lifestyle. If my wife can sleep well during the night time, she can sleep. She needs to get up and check my wife's condition during the night. She cannot just keep sleeping. We three live together and her duty is to look after us, do the cooking, wash the clothes and clean. Therefore, her work is heavy. (Family employer 13, Interview 1)

Bakan and Stasiulis (1997) noted that foreign domestic workers experienced a “high incidence of gross employer abuses” such as “severe cases of verbal, psychological, physical and sexual harassment and abuse”; “imprisonment in the houses of employers”; “substandard food and other contract violations” (p. 5). These authors found that injustices, discrimination, racism and sexual harassment were characteristic of the lives of foreign domestic workers in Asia, Middle East and even North American (Bakan & Stasiulis, 1997). Moreover, a common phenomenon worldwide is that family employers use different strategies to achieve 24 hours care from carers. It was reported, for example, that a Canadian family employer gave the foreign carer a mobile phone to make sure the care receiver could get help at any point in a 24 hour day. The mobile phone was described by the foreign carer as “an electronic leash” (Bourgeault, et al., 2010). Wang (2010) asserts that the outcome resulted in overtime and no days off is that the long-term care system could not provide adequate support for disabled people in Taiwan and thus, foreign carers are expected to take heavy responsibility for the care receivers. Furthermore, the Household Services Act seeking to provide work protection for foreign domestic workers could not be passed by the policymakers, the inadequate working environments therefore are controlled and arranged continuously by family employers (Wang, 2010).

Lan (2006b, p. 238) likened the fate of foreign domestics workers to the fairy tale character of Cinderella where:

These global Cinderella find themselves in a live-in condition that ironically combines physical intimacy and social distance, and their care work requires a complex interchange between love and money. Meanwhile, the placement of migrant workers at home strikes double anxieties among employers: home, socially perceived as a private haven sheltered from public chaos, now becomes a field of discipline and surveillance; cultural barriers and social inequalities are so intimately present that they are impossible to ignore.

This also reflects the argument of Litt and Zimmerman (2003) that Taiwanese women employers are the “key social control agents” of foreign carers. It is the authority imposed upon foreign carers by employers, in the absence of protective law, that situates them where they are the subjects of harm and subordination. Foreign carers have to adapt to life styles that lack dignity and autonomy when working and living in a domestic setting (Pratt, 2009; Tierney, 2007). The majority of absconding foreign workers in Taiwan have been carers or domestics from Indonesia and Vietnam and employed by family employers. The nature of the work undertaken in private homes and the unfavourable treatment of family employers were the most reported factors that lead to the absconding of foreign carers (Lan, 2006b).

However, adapting one’s life style and working with foreign strangers does not mean that the cultural elements of foreign carers are totally suppressed. Some religious and food rituals of the foreign carer participants were tolerated. This echoes the words of Goffman (1961, p. 23) who stated that:

....total institutions do not substitute their own unique culture for something already formed.....If cultural change does occur, it has to do, perhaps, with the removal of certain behaviour opportunities and with failure to keep pace with recent social changes on the outside.

Therefore, what appeared to be mutually agreeable alternatives or compromises were negotiated between foreign carers and family employers where employers wanted to retain reliable carers (Escriva & Skinner, 2008). In these circumstances, employers were more likely to engage in negotiation as this was deemed important in

creating an environment for all live together. And for the foreign carers, learning to speak the local language, meeting obligations and adopting a Taiwanese life style was critical to working successfully in Taiwan. Nonetheless, while there were some compromises, surveillance of foreign carers through the imposition of a range of measures was the norm in households and community. Issues surrounding surveillance and control of the daily lives of foreign carers in Taiwan are addressed below.

6.4 SURVEILLANCE

The micro working environments of foreign carers in Taiwan were not only shaped by policy but family employers had free range to prejudice and control their foreign carers. When a private home becomes a working space for a foreign stranger, anxiety related to personal safety and property security may be increased. Therefore, surveillance was a common strategy used by family employers toward these carers to control and manage their practices. Older persons receiving care were often responsible for the majority of surveillance because foreign carers were tied to those in their care most of the time.

They (foreign carers) work here to make money; otherwise they don't need to leave their countries for many years. We worry about our personal safety, particularly as she is a foreigner. My father heard about a tragedy where a foreign carer and her friends robbed her family employer and killed the whole family. We are scared and we think it is just like we put an unstable bomb in my house. (Family employer 2, Interview 1)

The first half year seemed like one-spied-on-the-other period. We worried that the carer might steal our money, so sensitively watched her every motion. We had cash and valuables locked away. Absolutely, my mother-in-law never left the carer alone at home. (Family employer 7, Interview 1)

In Taiwan, care work is characterised as low paid, of low prestige and hard work to be avoided by locals (Lee, 2008). In contrast to foreign carers, the Taiwanese family employers were wealthy and enjoyed greater economic power and higher class status. This reflects the determination of class as discrimination (Goffman,

1951) where the position, role and status of foreign carers was obviously inferior. It means foreign carers were given a lower social capacity and status in Taiwan because the care work they were employed to undertake was low paid and carried low prestige.

Where working obligations, rights and the positions of foreign carers were subject to a regulatory regime dominated by brokers and families, so through public discourse, the culture, life style and social values of foreign carers were socially constructed as inferior. Indeed, this accentuation of the carers as different served as part of a regulatory regime mediated through the construction of stigma and discrimination around foreign carers. Within Taiwan, different ethnicities, cultures and nationalities became symbols of lower class status because foreign carers and foreign domestics from Southeast Asian countries were generally associated with poverty, backwardness, political otherness and social problems and crimes (Cheng, 2003; Cheng, 2006; Lan, 2008; Wang, 2010).

Apart from being positioned as the other, in the extreme, prejudices and specific stereotypes have even constructed foreign carers as “cold-blooded killers” and “heartless” (Wang, 2010, p. 321) resulting from media reports of inappropriate practices and crimes of foreign carers. The norm however was to impose discipline on the carers through the actions of neighbours, friends, relatives. Here control of the carers’ social networks was critical to surveillance. At times a camera was installed to monitor supervise a foreign carer in the home.

I sometimes went home to check on her without letting her know first. My husband did so as well. I once said to her: my husband (a policeman) could come home any time, could be midnight, afternoon, morning, anytime”. I also said to her that my sister and my mother also had the key to my house. For her, I have some rules regarding rehabilitation for my mother in law: they can only walk on this street in front of my house. This is a long street and there are more than a hundred households. I only knew people living on the first one third street before they came. Then I tried to get to know the rest of the people for the sake of my mother-in-law. (Family employer 18, Interview 1)

At the beginning, I went to the bank very often because my boss wanted me to get money from his bank account. Workers at the bank called my boss to make sure that I had his permission to withdraw money. They all call my boss first to check it. (Foreign care 6, Interview 1)

The carer and my husband walk around our community every afternoon. I turn the camera on and I can check what is happening by watching my TV. Sometimes, my husband is too weak to walk and I would go out to help them. And I don't like that she talks to other foreign carers when they are walking. (Family employer 9, Interview 1)

Evidence reported by Taipei News (Liao, 2010, October 13) suggested that surveillance was also conducted toward foreign workers in an industrial sphere in Taiwan. It was on October, 2010, female foreign workers accused the Taiwanese employer of AV Technology Corporation because eight cameras had been installed in their dormitory. This event reflects stigmatisation of foreign workers and how surveillance is commonly used to manage foreign workers.

Indeed, not only the strategy of surveillance toward foreign carers was used by family employers, but also different strategies of requirements, like precautions and testing were used to protect Taiwanese host families from harm. Making precautionary routines were used of all family employer participants. For example, bedroom doors of family members were usually locked to keep foreign carers away from private property and money. Testing was noted by family employer participants. For example, cash was left in a location at home to test the honesty of foreign carers. If the foreign carer did not take the money left by the host family member, this carer is seen deserve to be trust. Furthermore, regulating the space use at home was also a common way to keep the privacy of host family members. In this case, the foreign carer was only allowed to stay in a specific floor or space in the home.

At the start, I told her directly and frankly: "Don't steal our things". Our bedroom doors are all locked. My daughter keeps many things in her bedroom. There are only three people in my house. If I go out, only the foreign carer and my husband will stay at home. My husband can't go upstairs because of his health condition. Therefore, if the carer goes upstairs to check our things, I will not know. I gave her a

warning and said “don’t steal aunt’s things. You can eat the food I give to you as much as you can, but don’t take my things or what I didn’t give to you. (Family employer 30, Focus group interview2)

Our house is very spacious. She (carer) stays with my mother-in-law on that side and we stay on this side. We keep our privacy. My requirement is that my foreign carer can’t go out if she wants to work here. Many foreign carers push their older people out and meet their friends every day and these carers won’t take the weather into account, cold or raining. They just want to meet their friends. I told the broker and the carer about my requirements at the beginning. (Family employer 30, Focus group interview2)

Ironically, foreign carers may face the same concerns and fears when living in and working for families of foreign strangers. However, protection was limited for these carers and they were placed in the private sphere without choice by the brokers. Regulatory practices imposed by families on foreign workers and often in association with brokers include confiscating passports, restricting carers from going out and making friends, and also controlling wage use and deposits of foreign carers (Cheng, 2003; Cheng, 2006).

Countries restrict migration to manage the flow of foreign workers (Douglass, 2010). Furthermore, boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, race, class and gender are produced and reproduced through the imposition of restrictive regulations and policies surrounding migrant workers from developing countries (Ayalon, 2009; Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b; Litt & Zimmerman, 2003; Misra, et al., 2006). At the domestic level, foreign workers are controlled and managed by household rules and private regulations (Constable, 2007). Work routines, preparing food, undertaking hygiene, physical appearance and space use of these foreign workers are controlled and monitored by family employers (Constable, 2007).

In effect, the authority of family employers and brokers is reinforced by and transferred from the control of government toward foreign workers. Migration policies related to foreign workers reflect the anxiety and contradictions of the Taiwanese government in opening national borders. Recruitment agencies and

employers are used as instruments of the government and they have obligations to enforce the regulations of monitoring and controlling foreign workers they employ. In the handbook, *What foreign workers in Taiwan need to know* (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2005, p. 5), the following selected stipulation dictates the obligations of foreign workers and the authority of employers.

If you do not report or fail to communicate with your employer for 3 consecutive days, you shall be fined not less than NT\$30,000 but not more than NT\$ 150,000, and will be repatriated back to your country as soon as possible. You will also be banned from working in Taiwan again.

Families may argue that the extent of monitoring of foreign carers was directly related to protection of the interests of the family. A security fee (2,000 N.T. Dollars) is paid by a family employer to the government every month when employing a foreign carer. Prior to 2001, if a foreign worker absconded, the family employer had to continue to pay the fee and could not employ a new foreign carer until the runaway carer was located by police. Even though a family employer is no longer required to pay a fee where a foreign carer absconds the employer may spend some time in securing a replacement carer during which the family again becomes responsible for care.

Strategies commonly adopted to restrict the mobility of foreign carers extended from denial of days off to being confined to households for 24 hours (Cheng, 2003). Public and private regulations constructed the situation of the foreign carers as powerless “others” in Taiwan and these carers were forced to passively accept the oppressive working conditions. Surveillance privately determining regulations were used by family employers to create isolated working situations for foreign carers. “To obey or to return home” was the powerful tool for family employers and older persons receiving care when regulating working responsibilities and practices of foreign carers.

Both formal and informal processes constituted the regulatory framework around foreign carer employment. The result was the construction of an environment

reminiscent of the total institution as conceptualised by Goffman (1961). Time, daily routines, personal mobility and the space of a foreign carer are carefully controlled by the family employer. Goffman's (1961, p. 17) definition of a total institution resonates with the lives of the foreign carers:

First, all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority. Second, each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of other.... Third, all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit formal rulings and a body of officials.

The total institution is a situation characteristic of not only Taiwan, but also by of labour receiving countries. Velasco (1997) gives an account of a foreign domestic worker in Canada who described feeling like a prisoner for three years and the only crime was lack of money.

The analytic dimension of surveillance refers to the social control over and social position of foreign carers in Taiwan as imposed at the national and household levels. The foreign carer participants were subject to diverse strategies of control to ensure their subservience and obedience. The imbalance of economic power between labour sending and receiving countries this has meant implicitly that, the majority of local laws in Taiwan around foreign labour were designed to protect the interests of the Taiwanese and not to uphold the working rights of foreign carers.

6.5 SUMMARY

This chapter has explored three analytic dimensions that conceptualise the process of resituating roles within the research context. Foreign carer participants were motivated by economic and other factors to work in Taiwan but caring for older people in the private sphere was ordered through a spectrum of regulatory mechanisms that allowed little autonomy for these carers. The Indonesian and Vietnamese women were treated as commodities to be marketed by private recruitment agencies and brokers to Taiwanese host families.

Foreign carers were situated in a work environment where there was limited space for negotiation. The vulnerabilities inherent to this situation for the carers were produced and reproduced through the imposition of national and household controls. Social institutions, employment status and the brokerage process constructed an antagonistic living environment and the asymmetrical hierarchy between Taiwanese employers and foreign carers was the basis for depriving foreign carers of their working and human rights. A blurring of public and private boundaries gave rise to contradictions, conflicts and inequitable negotiations between foreign carers and host family members. Foreign carers were required to adopt new life styles and to respond passively to the demands of the employers. An insidious element of this process was the function of surveillance.

The experience of working in Taiwan as a carer in the private sphere was one of struggle for foreign carers. Yet struggle was not confined to the foreign carer as employers and older persons receiving care both worked actively to manage their everyday lives. Thus the struggle for control was played out in different ways for each of the three participant groups. The focus now turns to the following chapter and the analytical dimension of *struggling for control*.

Chapter 7: Struggling for control

7.1 INTRODUCTION

While the appearance of foreign carers in Taiwan was a response to macro structural economic transformation, the living and working environments of the foreign carers, older persons receiving care and family employers were also constructed through social interactions. The role of the carers was to fulfil the filial responsibilities of family employers. This required a shift in role for the employers who, as consumers of household labour, now oversaw the regulation of carer work. Family employers were thus social actors with the power to impose their views and demands on those with less power. The power of the family employers had become an institutional mechanism for managing the foreign carers and older persons receiving care.

This chapter explores the analytic dimension, *struggling for control*, as it depicts first, the ways in which the older persons receiving care renegotiated their world views in order to achieve greater control. Intergenerational differences in social views and lifestyles saw the older participants face identity change not only because of aged related decline but also as a result of changing expectations around family obligations. The analytic dimension central to this chapter also reflects how foreign carers actively restructured their new lives in Taiwan, within the constraints of the household, so that their transnational identities as mothers, wives and family members were not totally subsumed by the role of carer. The carers developed strategies to circumvent the constraints of the household situation and to restore some level of self-control. Finally, the two concepts, *becoming vulnerable* and *seeking normality*, reflect interpretations of the interactions between foreign carers and older persons receiving care. What these two groups shared was vulnerability and change. Both were compelled to develop strategies to protect the self.

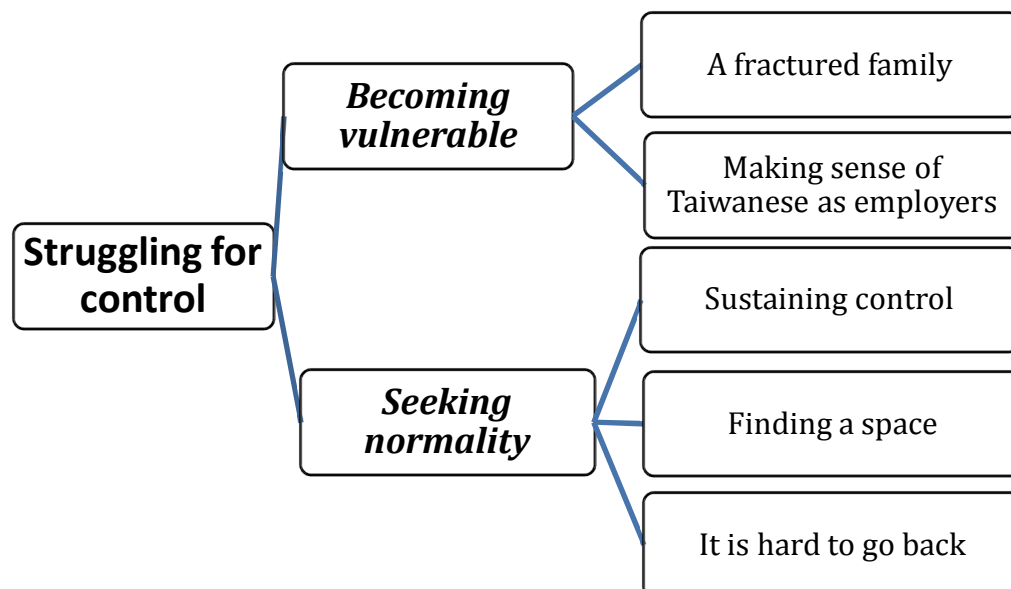


Figure 7-1 The concepts underpinning the analytic dimension of “struggling for control”

7.2 BECOMING VULNERABLE

The concept of *becoming vulnerable* incorporates two further theoretical ideas, *a fractured family* and *making sense of Taiwanese as employers*, which give some meaning to the everyday practices undertaken by foreign carers in negotiating relations with family members in home countries and with host family members in Taiwan. The focus on these interactions allows for a greater understanding of the social and global processes that underpin and sustain transnational relations.

As noted previously, integral to the phenomenon of globalisation is the international movement of labour. As greater numbers of women and men have sought opportunities to work abroad, this trend has been accompanied by the emergence of transnational families. The ageing population is contributing significantly to the transnational labour movements. Importantly and characteristically service work is the domain of women and thus it is largely migrant female workers who leave their families and children to fill this worker shortage. Taiwan was and remains a significant working destination for migrant mothers from Vietnam, Indonesia and the Philippines.

The foreign carer participants faced formidable obstacles in exiting their home countries and arriving in Taiwan not least of which was a fracturing of the family structure. *A fractured family* posed significant hardship in establishing and sustaining transnational relations and in negotiating the ongoing social expectation of their roles as wives, mothers and daughters. The hardship was exacerbated by the fact that carers worked and lived in the same environment and hence regulation of work by family members was in effect regulation of the entire lives of the carers.

7.2.1 A fractured family

A fractured family refers to the transnational status of families of foreign carers and issues that are directly related to this social formation. The foreign carers acted to address challenges in an effort to sustain family networks. This was made more complex where other family members were also dispersed as temporary migrants to other countries.

Firstly I worked in the United Arab Emirate and then I came to Taiwan when I was 20. At the same time, my older brother and husband all worked in the South of Taiwan. My mother takes care of my daughter. (Foreign carer 7, Interview 1)

I work in Taiwan. My husband works in Malaysia. My son is 13 and in Indonesia. My parents look after him. (Foreign carer 5, Interview 1)

The first time I went abroad to work was 16. Because I was too young to come to Taiwan, I went to Singapore and Hong Kong. My older sister is working in Singapore and my older brother is working in India now. I went back to get married when I was 21 and came to work again. My husband is working in Malaysia now. I want to have a baby after 2 years when I am 29. (Foreign carer 10, Interview 1)

The work opportunities for women are predominantly associated with reproductive and care work and in private households (Asis, Huang, & Yeoh, 2004; Ukwatta, 2010). Hence foreign carers in Taiwan are far more likely to be isolated in the domestic sphere and subject to the characteristics of a “total institution” as noted earlier. “Lack of spatial proximity and face-to-face interactions” (Asis, et al., 2004, p. 199) are problematic in sustaining a familial

space and network ties. Further, family separation as a result of migrant work brings trauma, loss and suffering to these transnational family members.

If I stayed in Vietnam, I would be able to live with my family, but life would be difficult. If I want to get my life improved, I have to sacrifice and to tolerate difficulties. I have been to Taiwan three times now, but I still could not remember the roads and directions, because I was crying when I came. I could not even get through the door of the house and they had to help me. Once I cried for three hours, and by the time I woke up I found that I did not know the place where I was. I was lost. I was always very happy when I went home. I enjoyed the entire month that I spent with my family, I was so happy. One hour before landing on Vietnamese soil, my heart beat was very fast because of excitement. When I left Vietnam for Taiwan, I cried until I lost myself. I missed my parents, my husband and children. It was too hard to look back with tears in my eyes (Foreign carer 13, Interview 1)

As Parreñas (2005) argues, the structural conditions of migrant workers are commonly constrained by employment contracts and family reunification is banned by the entry restrictions of host countries. This inserts another dimension of control into the working experience and diminishes any prospect of foreign carers returning home to be reunited with family throughout a two or three-year contract. Support from intimate relationships is therefore significantly lacking and this increases the vulnerability of foreign carers.

It is generally known that migrant workers experience pain and a sense of dislocation as a result of separation and this is difficult to overcome (Asis, et al., 2004; Ukwatta, 2010). Even though international phone calls and other computer technology provide unprecedented opportunities to connect with families, low wages and the tight financial status of family members limit such opportunities for communication. Indeed, participants noted that the cost of international phone calls and text messages was their chief monthly expense. Furthermore, where foreign carers are daughters, wives or mothers working in Taiwan as the main family wage earners, this may make problematic traditional family hierarchical relationships, couple dynamics and care of children. Therefore, negotiating with husbands, parents, parents-in-law and children are additional responsibilities for these foreign carers, even when abroad. For example, one foreign carer was caring for an older couple in the South of Taiwan. Her female care receiver suffered from hemiplegia post stroke

and her husband was suffering from dementia. Although the decision to work overseas was hers, she had to first convince her parents.

My parents disagreed with my choice because I am the only daughter who was at home. My parents have jobs so I work here for myself. Working abroad is very common in my country, not just me. I have been to Singapore and Malaysia before this. I have already bought land, but I don't want to come again because it's hard. I want to find someone and get married. (Foreign care 9, Interview 1)

Negotiations between foreign workers and their families are ongoing from the time of a decision to work abroad. Subsequently the foreign carer participants struggled to overcome homesickness and to fulfil ongoing roles as women, wives and mothers.

While the motivation to work in Taiwan was to be financially positioned to ensure children with a better education and future the foreign carers missed important events in the lives of their children. Telephones and mobile phones were one means by which foreign carers could continue to participate in families as mothers. The participants noted that international phone calls had a positive influence in mothering children at a distance. This echoes earlier research (Madianou & Miller, 2011; Parreñas, 2005; Ukwatta, 2010) on the use of mobile phones and telephones by transnational mothers to communicate with family members, to maintain a greater level of familial involvement and even to control the remittance use of family members. As Madianou and Miller (2011) state, transnational mothers perceive international phone calls as empowering because they facilitate the reconstruction of their role as mother. Furthermore, gifts sent back through international mail boxes were a further means to reinforcing familial ties.

However, while communication was critical in these geographically fractured relationships the absence of immediate intimate relationships gave rise to conflict, sadness, guilt and depression.

I came here to work after he was born. He called me "older sister" the first time I went back. I said to him, "I am your mother, but you called me sister". I was so sad because I am here for him.Mother

is the most important person for a child, but I hope he can understand that I work overseas for him....When I was there, he didn't want to go home with me and wanted to stay in my mother's home because he felt so stressed. I wanted to provide guidance for him and wanted him to study hard and learn more. (Foreign carer 6, Interview 2)

My husband disappeared and my father passed away when my son was 3. I came here to make money for my family. My mother looks after my son. He is 18 now, but I feel so sad because he doesn't listen to us. He plays the computer all the time and goes home very late. I call him to express my love and to teach him something. I call my friends or neighbours to hear about my son's life there. When I found that he had deceived me, I felt very depressed. (Foreign carer 3, Interview 2)

My husband wanted me to return when he had difficulties looking after my son. My son made some bad friends and I feel so frustrated because I work here. He is 18 and has his own ideas...it won't help if he can't think clearly and study hard. (Foreign carer 1, Interview 2)

We see from the above data excerpts that even though the foreign carer participants endeavoured to maintain familial networks and connections, working in Taiwan had a negative effect on family members and relationships. Children left at home may feel abandoned and lonely as do the older people and are unlikely to understand the circumstances in which a choice to separate is made. Foreign carers also experience guilt over being absent. Negotiating with children creates additional concerns for foreign carers.

He said to me, mum, I think you have made enough money and it is time to come home and look after everyone. He said, he is alone at home and wants me to go home. I said to him, I have spent all my savings on your brother's education and this house. I have no money left. I want to keep working to buy a car for us, which will be very convenient. My boy replied, no, we don't need a car. Then I asked him how I am going to take care of him (without money), since he has grown up. He argued, mum, you have got many friends who never worked overseas, but they look after their children very well. I want you to be at home. For this, I could only reassure him that it will not be long. (Foreign carer 13, Interview 1)

It is estimated that several million children of transnational families are growing up with an absent father, mother or both (Graham & Jordan, 2011). "Transnational motherhood", as defined by Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997),

thus reflects the new structure and meanings of motherhood for female foreign workers and for their children at home. Transnational mothers work overseas to provide their children with a better material living and in so doing these women can “fulfil traditional caregiving responsibilities through income earning” (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997, p. 562). However, migrant women may devalue this option because it requires that their children be looked after by others (Parreñas, 2005).

In the absence of foreign carer mothers, grandparents and fathers often are focal child care providers. Yet, other female carers, including extended family and friends, are also at times employed to take responsibility for the children left behind. This notion of women moving abroad to work (often for other women) and employing local domestic help at home has been defined as the “global carer chain” (Hochschild, Hutton, & Giddens, 2001).

Where migrant mothers relegate the care of their children to others these transnational mothers may feel compelled to downplay their migrant working status because it reduces the mothering role to that of economic supporter. In response to this phenomenon, the social value attached to women’s gender and role may explain why the migrant mothers in this research determined that working overseas and away from children were acts of desperation. Indeed, this reflected in a foreign carer’s expression that *I have no choice*. It may also mean that the women are stigmatised as bad mothers because of the choice to leave their children (Pratt, 2009). As Sobritchea (2007, p. 179) stated, this “long-distance mothering means making more sacrifices” which “....include having to deal with homesickness, guilt, and fears that the children back home would get sick, meet with an accident or would go astray because of lack of proper guidance”. The experience of separation of migrant mothers from children also produces problems of poor mental health, behavioural changes, social adjustment and deteriorating school grades (Battistella & Conaco, 1998; Graham & Jordan, 2011; Parreñas, 2005; Suarez-Orozco, Todorova, & Louie, 2002; Ukwatta, 2010; Yeoh, Huang, & Lam, 2005).

Traditionally the role of women has been socially and historically constructed as mother, wife and daughter-in-law and largely legitimated through reproductive activities (Devasahayam & Yeoh, 2007; Sobritchea, 2007). Because of social and cultural expectations, a woman who places great value on her employment is more likely to straddle the roles and identities between worker and mother (Blair-Loy, 2003, p. 204). In contemporary society, women are also economic providers. Sending remittances home to developing countries, as did the foreign carers in this research, was critical to family incomes. Yet this does not mean that women's reproductive work and responsibilities will have changed substantially as the foreign carer women continued to practice their traditional roles although within different social contexts. Indeed, the role of remittances demonstrates the strength of commitment to the families back home.

For the foreign carers, therefore, the act of taking up deskilled job opportunities overseas in exploitative working environments and leaving children behind was full of contradictory and ambivalent choices. Nonetheless, the women struggled in difficult circumstances to become survivors to support their families and children. One such struggle was sustaining marital relations. Working abroad for the women carers meant reconstituting the structure and nature of family relationships. Indeed, the status of matrimony was severely tested by separation.

My husband was seeing another woman when I was here. He wanted to marry her because she was pregnant. What a wonderful thing for him that he can have two wives. I disagreed and we divorced. I am still sad now and working here can help me keep away from this sorrows. (Foreign carer7, Interview 2)

He is with another wife now. I was working very hard here to earn money, but he was there to spend money because he thought that making money here is very easy. My only concern is my two daughters now. I don't think about my marriage. (Foreign carer 6, Interview 1)

That the prolonged absences of women resulted in matrimonial difficulties is reflected in previous research (Arnado, 2010; Ukwatta, 2010). Ukwatta (2010) found that over 60% of 400 Sri Lankan female domestic workers participants who worked overseas were divorced, separated or widowed and 12% had concerns about

the substance use behaviours of their husbands in relation to alcohol and drugs. Potential sexual infidelity is an issue because of long distances and the lengthy periods apart. Some foreign carer participants appeared to accept the inevitability of unfaithful husbands and it appeared that in so doing some semblance of the family structure could be preserved.

I was prepared. My bottom line is that he cannot have an affair in front of me. It's fine that my husband has a girlfriend while I work in Taiwan for six or nine years. I think that if I choose to work overseas, I should prepare myself for this.....I call him twice a week, but sometimes I call my neighbours to recheck on things related to my husband. (Foreign carer1, Interview 2)

I said to my husband, I am leaving for two years at least, not two days or two months. If you really want a woman, please go somewhere far away from home. Also please just keep it to yourself. Don't let your parents and our kids know. If I find out about your affair when I come back, and our children also have known about it, I will divorce you. (Foreign carer13, Interview 1)

A related and significant consequence of the transnational family is a shift in power relations between husband and wife. Foreign carers increasingly assumed the economic responsibility for sustaining families which involved control and management of household decision-making and budgeting. Moreover, planning for a future life had to be undertaken in the knowledge that, for many, that there may not be a husband on the return home. As such, remittance receivers were often mothers, sisters or other female relatives. Some carers also set up bank accounts in Taiwan. What is clear is that the foreign carers increasingly took control over the destination and use of money and in so doing ensured economic security for the future.

She cried and said my husband wanted me go back home because he missed me and I didn't give him money. She sent money to her mother's account because she is afraid that her husband may get married to another woman. (Family employer13, Interview 1)

I built a house after finishing the first contract and I can have my own business there. My plan is to buy land near to my mother's house after finishing my second contract. I am far away from my husband now. If something happens to our marriage, I won't need to depend on my husband in the future. I can support myself and have a happy life. (Foreign carer 1, Interview 1)

Previously, I spent my money on looking after the family and building a house. Now my husband is working to look after our children. My older boy has started working, so I have deposited my money in a bank just for myself. My husband does not know. If my husband has an affair, I can look after myself. (Foreign carer 13, Interview 1)

Despite the problems associated with disrupted families and the exploitation experienced in living and working in households, this research suggests that the foreign carers were empowered in important ways as a result of working overseas. While the incomes of foreign carers were used to support families, this also meant greater power over decision making, such as children's schooling, building a house and making other investments. This mirrored to some degree the lives of the Taiwanese women employers who were using their increasing economic capacity to negotiate and subcontract out traditional female responsibilities. Other research (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Parreás, 2001; Passar, 2005) has found that migrant women experience a level of gender liberation through access to discrete incomes and related control over household decision-making, expenditure and spatial mobility. The management of a bank account was one strategy whereby the foreign carers maintained involvement in family life but they also looked to female relatives to help co-manage the remittances.

It has also been argued (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Hondagneu-Sotelo, 1994; Pingol, 2001) that female labour migration threatens the traditional breadwinner ideal of husbands in developing countries and thus men struggle to maintain the dominant familial position (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011). Thus, the gender identity of husbands is influenced significantly where absent wives can earn more money (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011). This indicates a disruption of gender expectations and norms as a result of international labour migration and particularly of women. Overseas working mothers who manage dual households do not meet the traditional social expectations and ideals of the gender role.

While increasing economic capacity provided some empowerment for foreign carers and changed the gender dynamics of their familial and intimate relationships, physical separation from families came at a high cost. The ordeal was shaped by

demanding working conditions in Taiwan and by challenges related to absent mothering and maintaining family communication and matrimonial relationships. The fractured family gave rise to isolation and lack of support, factors that intensified the vulnerability of foreign carers. Nonetheless, vulnerability was not a passive nor static state as the foreign carers actively sought to make sense of their new environments.

7.2.2 Making sense of Taiwanese as employers

Foreign carers sought greater personal control within the inequitable relationships with employers and care receivers. The form that these relationships assumed was at one level determined, as argued in the previous chapter, by international and national politics. Just as the global movement of foreign carers is a feature of the workings of capitalism so the social environment in Taiwan is constructed around political and economic interests. Interactions in the research situation involved various dynamic power relations and social forms that were being constantly reformed by social and economic forces.

As such the work situations of the foreign carers were constructed by public and private regulations. These regulations, combined with controls imposed by private recruitment agencies, brokers, family employers and Taiwanese society created a vulnerable environment for the foreign carers. The care work in Taiwan is characterised by long hours, low status, low pay, isolation and vulnerability. These issues have been explored in terms of the underpinning power relations that give legitimacy to exploitative working conditions of the carers. The macro structural explanation should not, however, obscure the role of the active agency of the participants in constructing relations and the social reality of the research context. The relationships were indeed a significant factor influencing foreign carers' lives in Taiwan. Therefore, how host family members interpret relationships with foreign carers and how the latter negotiate their relations with host families is important.

A perception of the older persons receiving care was that the foreign carers were fortunate to have the opportunity to engage in caring work in Taiwan. *She gets*

an easy job here; she is very lucky to work here and she has nothing to do at my home are examples of such views. There was a sense that Taiwan was a superior country and that foreign carers were privileged to have an opportunity to do work that required little skill.

She has not much to do here, only housework and looking after me. I depend on her help so I have to endure. I am a vegetarian, but my son bought a lot of beef cans, sea food, and chicken meat for her. She can cook what she wants to eat (Older persons receiving care 13, Interview 1)

Her work only involves cooking, washings clothes, cleaning the house and providing company for me. We go to my doctor once a month. Over half of her time is spent doing nothing but playing. We often go for a walk or go to my friends' houses. I let her go out to meet her friend or she may feel bored here. (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1)

Her situation is very pitiful to have to work overseas. But she can cook what she wants to eat here and my daughter will pay for the ingredients. My daughter also bought her a new TV for her spare time. She has an easy job and broader life here. (Older persons receiving care 6, Interview 1)

The dominant discourse in the above data mirrors the argument of Parrenas (2001, p. 1140) in relation to Filipina domestic workers overseas that “receiving countries are usually seen as benevolent nations that have provided blessings and opportunities that are not available in the Philippines and for which they believe they should be grateful”.

Notably, from the perspective of foreign carers, the responsibility of caring for older people in Taiwanese households *was not that easy*. Communication was an immediate issue faced by foreign carers in Taiwan. Although a Chinese speaking program may have been a component of pre-work training, the majority of foreign carers had difficulty in speaking Chinese. Participants noted that body language and gestures substituted for communication through language during the first few months. Yet language as a systemic symbol and shared meaning shapes social reality. As language is an essential vehicle in conducting social lives and interactions, effective

communication was central to relationships between foreign carers and host family members in Taiwan. There was no expectation, however, of reciprocal responsibility where language was concerned. The onus was on Vietnamese and Indonesian carers to learn the local language because working expectations and requirements were expressed and shaped by that language. Misunderstandings gave rise to tension during the learning process.

Taking care of the grandma is very inconvenient (uncomfortable) because she is often very unhappy. I think I should tolerate and not escape. At least she didn't beat me. I usually cry outside the house and come in after I feel OK. Grandma is unhappy maybe because I don't understand how to take care of her. I don't understand her language very well. I should be tolerant. (Foreign carer 8, Interview1)

It was very difficult. For example, I spent half a month just teaching her to use the phone. We had to use lots of body gestures. In this situation, if my mother-in-law has an emergency the carer will not be able to contact us or to ask for help. My mother in law will be in so much danger. (Family employer 2, Interview 1)

The last carer was from the North Vietnam. She was easily brought to a hot temper but was smart. Indonesians are gentle, but stupid. It was very painful for the first two months. I didn't know what she said to me and she didn't know what I said to her. The translator came to help several times. She was stupid to communicate and I got angry very often. I said to her, "How come you are so stupid?" I showed her step by step. (Family employer 11, Interview 1)

In fact, she didn't understand my language, but she just answered "yes". Then, I found that she didn't do what I wanted her to do. Therefore, I will ask her: What did I say to you?" I want to make sure that she understands what I said to her. (Family employer 1, Interview 1)

As Berger and Luckmann argued (1966, p. 37), "an understanding of language is essential for any understanding of the reality of everyday life" and "language constitutes both the most important content and the most important instrument of socialisation" (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 133). Earlier research (Bourgeault, et al., 2010) found that language was also problematic between foreign carers and older carer receivers in Canada and caused tension in relationships because of

misunderstandings. Even though foreign carers in Canada are required to have a predetermined level of proficiency in use of the English language, some older persons receiving care were immigrants and had difficulty in speaking English (Bourgeault, et al., 2010). Similarly, Indonesian and Vietnamese carers who spoke little Chinese or Taiwanese faced hardship at work and in life generally. They were unable to absorb sufficient information to form relationships in the household and to readily construct social networks as a support outside the home.

Following the issue of communication, a perceived and crucial undertaking was to earn trust from the family employers and other Taiwanese family members. This was important because the carers perceived that this would translate into greater respect and therefore more freedom and less surveillance. By careful presentation of the self and by knowing one's place the carers sought to create a space for autonomy and agency. Nonetheless, there was little space for negotiation between foreign carers and host families. The living and working conditions alone positioned the foreign carers in an oppressive situation. What remained was the option of presenting as a docile and compliant employee as a means of ensuring greater autonomy. The foreign carers thus relinquished any autonomy and dignity and acted as docile and obedient in order to achieve some freedom.

*No matter what the boss tells me or wants me to do, my answer is yes.
(Foreign carer 8, Interview 1)*

*I should take it seriously. What I say and what I do should be with
good manners. I should tolerate it. (Foreign carer 2, Interview 1)*

Foreign carers thus progressively gained more trust and space.

*During the first 6 months, grandma would get mad readily when she
saw I wasn't doing something. She talked to me very loudly. She
wanted me to work harder. I kept explaining and talking to her. "Our
house is clean enough; I don't need to do it again and again. It just
wastes the water." Everything is better now. I was not allowed to go
out before, but she wants me to go out to meet my friends every day
now. She trusts me now (Foreign carer 3, Interview 1).*

Grandpa would blame me before because I did something wrong. I would get mad and explain it now. I feel better if I can explain and speak out. Sometimes, the employer talks to me very loudly. Sometimes, he treats me very well. We are all the same because we are people. It's OK for me now (Foreign carer 2, Interview 2).

The descriptions of the carers are reminiscent of Goffman's (1961) analysis of the actions of those who are institutionalised whereby the docile are rewarded and those who challenge an institutional arrangement are punished. Hard work and accommodating the host family and older persons receiving care was essential in creating space for negotiation. In Lan's (2003) research, Filipina domestics referred to the common practice of domestic workers behaving as "maids" even where they had previously worked in professional occupations and had higher educational backgrounds. In doing so these workers could meet the expectations of their family employers and gain more trust. Yet being docile and acting as servants also reinforced the family employers' superior position of authority and control.

The sense of servitude was reinforced by the renaming of foreign carers by family employers or brokers. Annie, Amy, Ya-Ti and Ya-Si were names commonly imposed upon the foreign carers. This act, although contested by the carers, created an inconsistency between the ways that the carers perceived themselves and were perceived by others.

Because they can't pronounce my name properly, they call me Ya-Jo. However, I didn't know that they were calling me that for over three months. I can't get used to this name. I don't know why they call me Ya-Jo. Maybe the name of every carer they have hired is Ya-Jo (Foreign carer 6, Interview 1).

Even where foreign carers had a strong educational background, professional skills and knowledge, acting as a carer and complying with the demands of host families was necessary because of the identity attributed to these female workers.

I was a director of the obstetrics and gynecology department in Vietnam. I never told anyone that I was a doctor but worked as a carer in Taiwan. There were thousands of people coming to Taiwan to do this job, but there was no doctor. People think I am silly, for I am a doctor, but work as a carer.... I came here to work for my children, as

the salary of doctors at that time was low. (Foreign carers 13, Interview 1)

An additional phenomenon was the practice of foreign carers supplementing their wages in various ways. With the permission of family employers, foreign carers could earn extra money through, for example, selling homemade biscuits, picking tea, selling recycling garbage or pre-paid mobile phone cards, raising chickens and writing for publication. These were illegal acts because they were not covered by contracts and this situation allowed for further exploitation. Foreign carers, for example, attracted lower wages than local cleaners or labourers. For the family employers and older participants, however, the act of allowing the carers to take on peripheral work was further evidence of the benevolent attitude of the Taiwanese.

Not only did foreign carers seek to increase their income, saving on every day living expenses was also an essential skill when working in Taiwan. For example, illegal currency exchange services were employed by foreign workers to send remittances home. Foreign carers could thus pay lower fees although this was a risky option. But the broader social network was an important resource for accessing resources and opportunities. Foreign wives, or other experienced foreign workers from the same countries, shared information with new foreign carers.

Grandma was good to me. I can make money by baking Indonesian biscuits with her permission. An Indonesian store helps me sell the biscuits. I don't sleep for very long because I need to bake. One of grandma's relatives is from Indonesia and she introduced some handiwork to me to make more money. (Foreign care 5, Interview 1)

She goes out to collect recycling garbage after dinner every night. Her friend's boss is an owner of a recycling garbage collecting factory. Many foreign carers make more money by selling recycling stuff. I allow her to do this and I stay at home with my mother for that time. My only requirement is that she finishes her work here first. (Family employer 5, Interview 1)

If foreign carer participants could gain more respect, autonomy and dignity, their work satisfaction may have been improved. However, the potential for this to occur depended upon the management of the Taiwanese employers. In some

households, care receivers lived alone with foreign carers and this may have enabled the carer to enjoy more autonomy and to work more independently. Yet it also gave rise to greater responsibility and feelings of being abandoned particularly when carers were faced with critical events.

I prefer to live with other family members because they can correct me if I do something wrong. During the Chinese New Year, grandma's urine tube came off and I was so afraid. I called my boss, but he didn't come. I had to push the wheel chair for over one hour to the emergency room. (Foreign carer 7, Interview 2)

My friends call me and want me to go out, but I don't like to go out. It's not important. Grandpa is at home and I have to be responsible for him. Grandpa may need me to do something when I am out. He may go out alone and get lost. He got lost several times before and my boss wanted me keep an eye on him. (Foreign carer 5, Interview 2)

My father is 89 years old and suffering from dementia. His renal function is really a problem, but the foreign carer has difficulty providing adequate care. Her cooking is very salty and she likes to eat deep fried food. She also does not manage the amount of water my father drinks. I worry about it, but I have no energy to look after them. (Family employer 16, Interview 1)

My daughter bought many small disposable heat pads. The carer thought that was one kind of milk powder and she stirred it with hot water and wanted me to drink it. She can't read the Chinese instruction so she made the mistake. It was so dangerous. (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview 2)

The majority of foreign carers lived with extended families and relationships with them were complex. Employers and older persons receiving care perceived relationships with their foreign carers as the equivalent of housemates and friends, as employer and employee and as foreigners and family members. In particular, the discourse of *like a family member* dominated expressions surrounding the relations between carers and family members. Comparisons were also provided to convince others that they were good and generous employers or care receivers.

Conversely, the foreign carers did not identify as family members, but rather as the servants that they were. Although rewards were received by foreign carers such as extra food, wages or time off, clothing, an educational opportunity, a loan and gifts, the very fact that these were conceived of as rewards reinforced the subordinate position of the carers. Also and importantly unlimited work responsibilities were imposed upon the carers. For some, the construct of being a family member existed as a rationale for the blurring of boundaries that in reality meant that there was no clearly defined work role.

She is like my older sister. She does the care and household work. I don't need to worry about it. We even go shopping together. I observe and give what she needs, such as mental support and other rewards. More support and rewards can help her settle down in my home. She feels more secure to work here. (Foreign carer 16, Interview 1)

She is like a family member in my home. She looks after my mother-in-law, granddaughter and our housework very well. I let her manage the whole household when I am away for several days. She is obedient so we treat her very well. For example, we buy her gifts, give her more money, buy her delicious food and let her go out to make more money by cleaning the houses of my relatives. (Foreign carer 19, Interview 1)

Issues related to the blurring of social and emotional boundaries and therefore around security and privacy were a concern when a carer came to live in a private home. The four categories of maternalism, personalism, distant hierarchy and business relationship, were used by Lan (2006b) in theorising how Taiwanese family employers manage boundaries with foreign domestic workers. These four categories reflect the differing positions assumed by family employers in controlling the space of the foreign workers. Lan (2006b) also argued that foreign family domestic workers preferred to maintain distance from and to minimise interactions with their Taiwanese family employers. In so doing, the burden of extracurricular and emotional work could be reduced and avoided. Similarly, Iecovich (2011) put the view that the development of a professional relationship can protect and prevent exploitation and abuse of carers by family employers because exploitation may be caused by too close a relationship between workers and family employers.

A position that more closely reflects the current research is that of Näre Lena (2011) who posed the argument that the relationships between family employers and foreign carers are built upon “moral contracts” and moral economic exchange. Hence, the characteristics of “duty”, “gratitude”, “altruism” and “familial responsibility” are connected to the moral contract and foreign carers therefore are expected to undertake extra work because they are treated as part of the family (Näre, 2011, p. 407). This means that openness, trust and flexibility are expected in the performance of care and household responsibilities imposed upon foreign domestic or care workers when the employer-employee relationship is determined as family-like (Asis, et al., 2004). However, tension, conflict and compromise are concealed behind this discourse of family-like relationships and the interactions between carers and family members are therefore more complicated and ambivalent than Lan’s (2006b) typology and Iecovich’s (2011) concept of a professional relationship imply.

In order to retain jobs and negotiate with host families, long-term strategies needed to be formulated. Migrant domestic workers worldwide are pressing for improved working and human rights and argue that these should be negotiated by nation states as they are connected in a structure of global interdependence of care (Sarvasy & Longo, 2004). Lack of adequate legislation and policies underpin the vulnerable and exploitative environments of foreign carers in Taiwan. Recently, a Taiwanese official who was the director-general of the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office in Kansas City, Jacqueline Liu, was found guilty in the United States because two of her Filipina domestic workers were abused and mistreated (Cao, 2011). According to *The Liberty Times* (Cao, 2011), the workers were monitored by surveillance cameras and their passports confiscated by employers. News related to this crime was reported and discussed for several months in Taiwan and it brought focus to the issue of the family employer’s absolute authority and the foreign carer’s subjugation.

As this research has found, the institution of the employment of foreign carers for older persons has given rise to significant socio-cultural and human right issues in Taiwan. Both foreign carers and older persons receiving care are vulnerable, but these two groups perceived the reality through their disparate life experiences and

developed different strategies to sustain and struggle for a better life. *Seeking normality* is a concept that reflects the actions whereby foreign carers and older persons receiving care participants shaped interactions to retain control over their everyday lives while living together.

7.3 SEEKING NORMALITY

While the employment of foreign carers is an increasingly common practice in Taiwan, seeking normality was a process engaged with on a daily basis by the older persons receiving care and foreign carers as these two groups interacted within their everyday lives. This conceptualises how older persons receiving care gained control with the help of foreign carers and how foreign carers claimed a private space and made decisions for the future. It was an ongoing learning process for foreign carers to formulate long-term strategies when working and negotiating with the Taiwanese. On the one hand, foreign carers struggled to secure a better future for their families and on the other hand, the option of returning home was becoming one of contradictions and ambiguities. The concept of *seeking normality*, constitutes three conceptual ideas: *sustaining control*, *finding a space* and *it is hard to go back*.

7.3.1 Sustaining control

The older participants gained some level of personal control through their relationships with foreign carers. Caring for older people in Taiwan has been traditionally a familial responsibility but the ideology of Asian familialism is being challenged by a shift to market determined care. Being cared for by a foreign carer had symbolic meaning. It was symbolic of loss for older people and the associated diminution of social status within families. *Sustaining control* was also symbolic of the location of foreign carers in a subordinate position in the host family and open to the domination of older persons receiving care.

Care receivers in this research were those who experienced difficulty maintaining independent living and who were largely socially isolated. Dissatisfaction related to family relationships and social support contributed to the

perceptions of feelings of uncertainty and abandonment. Living without hope was articulated by these participants as *my life is day after day* and *having a good death is my only hope*. Moreover, the older persons considered themselves a burden to their adult children. Dying was conceived of as the optimal way to escape hardship and to eliminate burden.

The only concern I have is how I can have a good death (Older persons receiving care11, Interview 1).

I hope I can die early rather than becoming a burden for my children (Older persons receiving care11, Interview 1).

For the older participants, being cared for by adult children at home was the ideal in meeting emotional, material and social needs. Thus the provision of care from outside the family was constructed initially by older persons receiving care as evidence of their own subjugation within the family hierarchy; a precursor for death. The majority of older participants in this research did not participate in decision-making related to their care. This reality combined physical limitation with loss of independence and dissatisfaction with family and social support. Physical health has previously been perceived by older Taiwanese as a priority and the main focus of concern in their daily lives (Hsu, 2007). Disability and all that accompanies it, therefore, was significant in reframing the perceptions of older persons in later life.

Loneliness, social isolation and social deficit also resulted from a reduction in social activity; *I don't dare go out by myself, I can't go out without help* and *I can only stay at home*. Without social contact and interaction within intimate relationships, satisfaction and a sense of belonging do not develop (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Social isolation is defined as the “absences of contact” of others (Victor, Scrammler, & Bond, 2009) and seen as essential factor influencing the quality of life of older people (Biori & Nicolson, 2012; Hawton et al., 2011; Murphy, Cooney, Shea & Casey, 2009; Tomaka, Thompson & Palacios, 2006). Indeed, social isolation and loneliness are known to affect health status related to the development of cardiovascular diseases (Shankar, McMunn, Banks, & Sfeptoe, 2011).

Since social interaction for the older carer receiver participants was restricted, the employment of a foreign carer became meaningful in engendering for these people a greater sense of control in their lives. Relationships with carers allowed them to resume a position of some authority as the everyday lives and routines could be managed and controlled by regulating the work of the carers. Communication and surveillance turned the focus to the older persons and produced what resembled a person-centred style of care for those receiving care. In doing so, more positive self-identities could be sustained. In this sense the care becomes, what Karner (1998) has referred to as, fictive kin with the attendant gender based and social relations.

Relationships were constructed and played out through food preparation as it manifested in greater control for the care receivers. Cooking styles, preparation and food purchases were viewed, as important processes wherein the care receiver and carer relationship was negotiated.

She goes out alone to buy vegetables. If we need to buy meat, she will push me out to the market and I will make the decision. Because the meat is more expensive, I don't want her dealing with this (Older persons receiving care 4, Interview 2).

She takes me to the market every two days. She can pick what she wants to eat and I pay for it. Otherwise, she can't do it well by herself. Her cooking is getting better. I taught her how to cook step by step by my way. She is good now (Older persons receiving care 15, Interview 1).

Leaving the house with foreign carers was most often a daily routine for older participants and these occasions allowed for shopping, rehabilitation exercises, doctors visits and socialising with friends. The increased mobility brought about by the foreign carers enabled the care receivers to participate in more social activity which, along with management of personal carers, promoted a sense of personal control.

The older participants dictated that foreign carers adhere to specific dietary practices and so the eating patterns of those carers were changed. Most foreign carers and host family members shared Taiwanese meals. There were some compromises.

Because of my health problem, I told her what I can't eat, such as spicy and toxic food. Whitehairtail fish, squid, calamari, leek, spring onion..... She can cook it and I won't eat. She eats beef, but I don't. I eat pork, but she doesn't because of her religion. It's hard for her to come so far to look after an older person. I should take care of her (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1).

Generally, the care receivers perceived that their quality of life had been enhanced by the employment of a foreign carer at home. Positive changes and benefits were noted and being cared by a foreign carer was symbolic of security and control.

The biggest change of my life is that I became more secure (Older persons receiving care 1, Interview 1).

After employing her at home, I could sleep well. (Older persons receiving care 2, Interview 1)

Apart from control, compromise and tolerance appeared essential and particularly where the foreign carer had worked in the same household for a long period of time. In order to secure the same carer more negotiated space was provided. This reflects the earlier discussion around how foreign carers developed strategies to negotiate control, freedom and some autonomy. It also gives support to the concept of fictive kin in addressing the processes played out by both carers and the older persons. This concept refers to a relationship based on physical proximity and social intimacy where the carer is constructed as a family member (Weicht, 2010). In the following excerpts the focus is not on the performance of tasks but rather on the physical and emotional presence of the carer.

I can't get used to it. She has a very bad temperament and gets angry very easily. Sometimes she talks loudly (Older persons receiving care 1, Interview 1).

She has her personality and I need to follow her ideas. Otherwise, she would be unhappy. How can I describe whether she is suitable or not? I have this situation and I need her care. She didn't want to change and listen to me so I have to change my expectations (Older persons receiving care 13, Interview 1).

She is very childish without any sense of responsibility. She goes out very often and I can't find her when I need her help (Older persons receiving care 6, Interview 1).

Thus the foreign carer and older persons receiving care relationship was one of emphasising family like relations. Weicht (2010) refers to the phenomenon of the construction of migrant carers as fictive kin as important to the continuation of the family care model within the context of family structural change and economic and social developments. Such changes required a reconfiguration of care that did not undermine the fundamental values associated with the prevailing filial ideology.

Nonetheless, the ideal of the construction of the foreign carer as a family member also had the potential to result in greater exploitation when the boundaries between work and the private lives of the carers are blurred. Private space was a necessary condition for autonomy and the carers worked creatively to create such a space. Private space was a necessary condition for autonomy and the carers worked creatively to create such a space.

7.3.2 Finding a space

Finding a space depicts how foreign carers engaged with the new environment and institutional arrangements in Taiwan. Social interactions between host family members and foreign carers were complex and involved control, negotiation and compromise. Within such a context, there existed a further struggle for dominance. For foreign carers, interactions with Taiwanese and their family members often meant consciously engaging in role performances in order to gain favours. Here the carers interacted with power structures and institutional regulations in such a way to achieve some level of control. The carers were not the docile maids who passively

obeyed directions, but women who employed agency within the constraints of their physical, spatial and social contexts.

The foreign carers perceived that they were a stigmatised group within Taiwan because they constantly encountered rigid regulations, discrimination and surveillance. As addressed elsewhere, the foreign carer identity is produced and reproduced through popular discourse in Taiwan that characterises the carers as impoverished outsiders who are heartless, uneducated, maybe criminal and socially inept (Cheng, 2003; Lan, 2006b; Tierney, 2007; Wang, 2010). Stigmatisation as defined by Goffman (1963b, pp. 9-13) refers to “the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance” and is “deeply discredited”.

While living and working as migrant women in Taiwan is characterised by prejudice the carers also came to appreciate social non-acceptance and social identity attributed by others through “researching the daily round” (Goffman, 1963b, p. 114) and through communication (Burr, 2003). In this research, a loss of a former identity was threatened through the employment experience and searching out a private space was crucial to the survival of foreign carers. There were several ways in which foreign carers escaped the working space in the pursuit of something better.

In addition to familial support from home local social networks were vital in ensuring that the foreign carers could more satisfactorily work and live with Taiwanese. Unlike foreigners employed in other forms of work, the foreign carers in this research were isolated and without regular and designated days off. Thus, meeting friends and participating in social events was difficult. Creative strategies were necessary to build and maintain a local network of relationships. The mobile phone was critical in communicating with friends. It facilitated access to resources, support and social networks and as functions were developed became more meaningful in allowing voice and video recording and photos. However, the mobile phone was also emblematic of a struggle for control over the lives of the foreign carers. To prevent foreign carers from making contact with people outside and to

keep them in an isolated situation, family employers, older persons receiving care and brokers used strategies to restrict phone use.

I want to use a mobile phone but the broker took it away. In order to talk to my children, I sometimes borrow one from my friend. Sometimes I go out to use a public telephone but grandma would get mad because I had left. They took my mobile phone away because I answered my daughter's phone call during midnight (Foreign carer 8, Interview 1).

They make friends very quickly because they just exchange their mobile phone numbers directly when meeting in the market, park or somewhere at the first time. Then they become friends (Family employer 4, Interview 1).

We bought the first foreign carer a mobile phone and she could keep in touch with her family members, but she made more and more friends here over time. She put her earphone on and kept talking with her friends for several hours when she was working. Thus, her work deteriorated. Also, she started to argue that the salary she got was not good and her friends wanted to introduce a better job for her..... I am glad she didn't escape. We worried about the security and safety of our family when she made more and more friends. Then, I changed the rule and set some working limitations. This foreign carer is only allowed to use her mobile phone to talk to her family members once a week. Her mobile phone is locked in the drawer. (Family employer 2, Interview 1)

She wants to have a mobile phone, but we don't agree. Usually, we let her buy a phone card and then let her use the public telephone to call her husband. My daughter and son said to me: "don't buy her a mobile phone. In case she keeps talking without doing things properly". My daughter takes her out to use the public telephone during the weekend. (Family employer 9, Interview 1)

Mobile phone use for foreign carers reflects Goffman's (1963b) argument that the stigmatised individual can break with what is called reality and obstinately attempt to employ an unconventional interpretation of the character of her/his social identity. In the same sense foreign carers who shared a stigma and inferior position came together to create a protective environment. As Goffman (1963b, pp. 120-121) wrote:

Those who share a particular stigma can often rely upon mutual aid in passing... The same kind of cooperativeness is to be found among the circle of stigmatised person who know one another personally.

Research has revealed how Filipina domestic workers in Taiwan built strong social networks and support through meeting friends in churches, at Taipei Train Station and other public areas (Cheng, 2006; Lan, 2006b). For Filipina workers, the religious norm of attending to religious rites in a church on Sundays contradicted “the employers’ power to prohibit the maid’s going out” (Wang, 2007, p. 712). Religion was a way to bargain with family employers to achieve days off and “hidden spaces” (Wang, 2007; Yeoh & Huang, 1998). The private space was used to escape norms and subordination (Yeoh & Huang, 1998). As Cheng (2006, p. 217) noted, church was perceived as a home where foreign workers came together and shared their experiences:

The shifting scenes, peoples, languages, symbols, objects, stories, smells, and meanings were what made the same place distinctive and particular at different periods of time. In other words, home has to be made.

Yet because the foreign carer participants were tied to households and care responsibilities the practice of attending a church was not regularly achievable. Technological devices such as mobile phones and the internet thus brought benefits to these workers including contact with transnational families and local social networks. International phone calls and text messages were the only means by which the foreign carers could maintain a level of intimacy with family members. A further essential function of the mobile phone was that it provided some protection for the carers. In July 2009, a hotline for foreign workers was instituted by the Taiwanese government (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2010).

Some public spaces in Taiwan were occupied by foreign domestic workers on days off and on outings to conduct their “backstage activities” such as dancing, shopping and picnicking, but foreign workers who did not have days off used mobile phones to build a “cellular back stage” to make connections with people outside the private spheres (Lan, 2006b). One important element within the lives of the carers

was conducting everyday communication and building social networks, making calls, writing letters. These communicating strategies helped the carers reclaim some private space and time.

With the increasing number of foreign workers in Taiwan, various exotic grocery stores, shops, restaurants and banks have been erected to meet foreign workers' needs because they have emerged as specialised groups of consumers. This specific shopping strategy is designed for foreign workers in Taiwan and provides a sense of control for foreign carers. For example, one foreign carer was looking after an older couple in a small town of a rural area. A car driver sent the clothes she ordered while conducting our interview.

We can buy things listed in magazines and newspapers, such as computers, mobile phone, clothes, shoes and lots of things. I pay 40 N.T. dollars (1.3 Australia dollars) to buy this magazine from an Indonesian shop every month. I can buy things by making phone calls and a worker who answers the phone is Indonesian. The delivery fee is 100 N.T. dollars (3.3 Australia dollars) and I like to buy clothes here (Foreign carer 9, Interview 1).

The purchase of some goods, such as mobile phones and laptops for foreign carers also carried the symbolic meaning of conspicuous consumption. Indeed, it has been argued elsewhere that the showcasing of such consumption is linked to foreign carer power and control in their social lives (Katz & Sugiyama, 2005; Lan, 2006b). The latest style mobile phone or laptop can also be a physical icon and a decorative display to depict status and a personal identity (Katz & Sugiyama, 2005).

She changes her mobile phone very often and it is far faster than ours. Foreign carers show and compare their mobile phones all the time. She sends part of her salary home and leaves some for her purchase here (Family employer 26, group interview 1).

The gathering moment was important for foreign carers in creating and sustaining relationships external to the household. Hence relationships between foreign carers and families were mediated not only through families and brokers but informal networks. Emotional support and other information was exchanged in those periods of time spent outside the homes. A crisis of identity

may be triggered when these workers work outside their homeland. By gathering in parks, markets or other public spaces, the foreign carers could reconstruct their cultural identity and engage in the formation of communities that reaffirmed those identities. Although faced with considerable adversity, ambivalence surrounded any thought of returning home.

7.3.3 It is hard to go back

It is hard to go back signifies the ambivalence and conflict surrounding a decision to go home for the foreign carers. The carers struggled for a better life in Taiwan and faced a difficult choice in relinquishing their previous lives. Yet, returning home was not a ready answer to their powerless situation. While working in Taiwan involved difficulties and losses, the benefits were acknowledged. The experiences of carer work were very often oppressive and yet the economic conditions for foreign carers were significantly improved. Participants thus perceived the Taiwan experience as bittersweet and ambivalence surrounded decisions about the future and whether to continue working in Taiwan.

In Taiwan, foreign carers are managed as “guest-workers” with temporary status and state practices ensure control over foreign workers to prevent any permanent residence settlement (Tseng & Wang, 2011). According to the Employment Service Act, prior to 2012, the maximum duration for stay in Taiwan for foreign carers was 9 years. This has since been extended to 12 years to meet the growing demand for the ageing population (Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, 2012)

Working in Taiwan was taken for granted as *it's very common for us to work overseas*. As such the carers positioned themselves as pragmatically responsible family members who needed to work abroad. This was because working opportunities in home countries were inadequate to provide for children's education, health care and basic living (Litt & Zimmerman, 2003). Work in Taiwan paid for houses, land and the support of children and the family. Hence, Taiwan represented “a land of milk and honey” (Villaruz, 1995, p. 62) where working opportunities

combined with better salaries made life more appealing. The economic reward contributed to the decisions and perceptions influencing foreign carers to return abroad.

I don't know what the best choice is. I went home after I finished my contract, but I can't get a good job there. The only thing we do in my hometown is plant rice (Foreign carer 1, Interview 2).

In 2005, I went back home for several months, but I had nothing to do. We built our own house, but my son was very little. Then I decided to come again (Foreign carer 6, Interview 2).

The first time I came to Taiwan was in 1992. We appreciate the opportunities we have in Taiwan. Women have nothing in our country. I support my daughters' education by working here (Foreign carer 4, Interview 1).

It was noted earlier that remittances for many families in South-East Asia are important in preserving families and for governments sustaining nations. Increasing levels of remittances have been transferred from East Asian countries to developing countries in this region over the last few decades. This indicates the extent to which income opportunities in these developing countries are lacking (Remo, 2012, March 16). Returning home, therefore, engenders some level of fear for migrant female workers because it represents moving back to a situation that “they had hoped to escape in migration” (Parreás, 2001, p. 1140). Because of poverty and a limited source of income at home foreign carers, like other migrant workers, renew their overseas working contracts many times (Constable, 1999; Parreás, 2001). While the regulation of a maximum duration of stay in Taiwan can be a limitation for foreign carers, many pursue strategies to overcome this barrier without attracting penalties. For example, foreign carers apply for new visas to work in Taiwan by changing names, using the identity of others or providing fake marriage certificates, but this may be a risky strategy which may put these workers in a situation of being deprived (Hsien, 2012, April 15; Zhan, 2011, May 27).

She has been working for us for over 10 years and we trust her. She came to my house when she was 26 years old and she is 37 now. We need someone to clean the house and she looked after my grandmother and then my father-in-law so she was asked to work for our family again and again. She went back to apply a new visa by

using her sister's identity and then came again. One of her younger sisters is also working for us now (Family employer 2, Focus group interview 1).

Because negotiating and communicating with a new foreign carer can be stressful many family employer participants indicated that they preferred to employ the same carer by renewing working contracts. The revision of the Employment Service Act relating to the maximum duration of stay in 2012 was, in part, a response to pressure by family employers.

Although working in Taiwan as carers was an experience characterised by, scrutiny and degrees of coercion renewing second or third contracts was the choice of the foreign carer participants. This reflects Mead's (Blumer, 1969, P. 82) proposition that a person makes a conscious decision to act and their actions are not solely responses to environmental pressures but arise instead "from how (one) interprets and handles these things in the action which (one) is constructing". Foreign carers interpreted their situations and made self-indications and thus took action to work in Taiwan again. The foreign carers in this sense could not be accurately perceived as victims but as social actors who constructed consciously their actions.

This research then points out that while remittances were a major motivation for working overseas, many different factors surrounded the decision. The living environment in Taiwan was perceived by foreign carers as a better place to learn and live. Although living back home was symbolic of family and belonging, the identities of the foreign carers had altered over the time in Taiwan and now life chances were perceived and constructed differently.

I think the living environment here is better. In fact, everything here is better. I am only a carer here, but I can earn more money and I can stay and live in Taiwan. (Foreign carer 6, Interview 2)

It is reasonable to argue that Taiwan represented a form of liberation for the foreign carers who had moved out of traditional and patriarchal environments where women were tied to reproductive responsibilities. In working overseas, the foreign

carers were empowered to the extent that they were released from cultural and traditional expectations at home.

I learned lots of things here, such as cooking, managing house, communicating with people and speaking Chinese and Taiwanese. I think my life in Taiwan is more modern so I can learn how to deal with different things. Everything here is better. My hometown is very backward (Foreign carer1, Interview 2).

I became clever here. I was very stupid when I was in Indonesia. I learned a lot. I think that Taiwanese are smarter than Indonesians. Here is very good, convenient and very progressive. I learned to speak Chinese, look after older people, cook and sell things. I learned a lot. I want to learn more and then I can start my own business in Indonesia. (Foreign carer 6, Interview1)

Work as carers does have the function of increasing the autonomy and higher status for foreign carers in Southeast Asia. This is directly attributed to the financial certainty to construct a contemporary and urban identity (Ford & Parker, 2008). Through working overseas, female workers from developing countries have the capacity to negotiate with different class, gender and cultural values in their own countries and to demonstrate personal agency (Barber, 2000; Parrenas, 2000).

Hence, working in Taiwan as a foreign carer was far from an autonomous choice but ultimately delivered some degree of relative and personal autonomy. How the carer participants perceived the present was shaped by visions of the future as more secure and autonomous. The foreign carers saw the future in practical and economic terms and involving the establishment of their businesses such as a restaurant or grocery store. Hence, the future promised better opportunities for the foreign carers, a situation that reflected a “fate negotiated with agency” (Barber, 2000, p. 403).

Indeed, foreign workers are situated in complex circumstances mediated by economic, legal and social conditions that exist on a global scale. Even where caring for older Taiwanese in domestic settings means isolation, subjugation and being constructed as the inferior “other” both government and family regulations, the

imperative of creating a more prosperous future and a newly found autonomy appear to sustain the foreign carer who work overseas.

7.4 SUMMARY

Becoming vulnerable and seeking normality constitute the processes of struggling for control. Foreign carers sought to interpret and negotiate the working and living situations they experienced in Taiwan. An increasing economic capacity significantly changed the relationships of foreign carers with family members and working abroad was transformed from an obligation into a quest for greater personal freedom. Seeking normality also represented the negotiated relationships between foreign carer and older persons receiving care participants as the lives of these two groups were tied first, by economic exchange and ultimately culturally and socially. Both sought for control and some normal space within constrained environments. The experiences for both groups, therefore, were neither solely oppressive (foreign carers) nor diminishing (older persons), nor emancipatory but were formed and reformed through a confluence of relationships and factors. As a result, returning home for the carers was not an unambiguous choice. Seeking normality thus reflected the experiences of foreign carer and older persons receiving care participants as they engaged in and negotiated ongoing interactions. In the following chapter, the core category, *(re)-regulating care*, integrates the key theoretical analytic dimensions explored in the three previous chapters and frames an overall theoretical understanding generated from the research.

Chapter 8: (Re)-regulating care

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to develop a theoretical understanding of the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers in households for older Taiwanese. The analytical findings of the research reflect the ways in which the foreign carer, older carer receiver and family employer participants were socially situated within the research context and how their respective realities were shaped differently by a changing family structure and social and economic developments on a global scale. *(Re)-regulating care* was generated from data as the core conceptual category that integrated the three analytical dimensions in the research. Hence, the core category, the three analytical dimensions and their constitutive knowledge provide the bases for understanding the social phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people in domestic settings in Taiwan. This final chapter explores the dimension of the core category and concludes with a consideration of research limitations and a number of implications that arise from the analytical findings.

The analysis in this chapter is informed by the theoretical lens of social constructionism, which argues that the social reality of people's everyday lives is to be conceived and interpreted through an understanding of social interactions, social institutions and social orders (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Indeed, Mead and Blumer (1969) both argued that the force and power of a society, organised groups and institutions shape the attitudes and actions of individuals. In other words, individuals, organisations and society as a whole are continually changing and new meanings emerging in the course of social interactions (Blumer, 1969).

8.2 THE ANALYTICAL DIMENSIONS OF (RE)-REGULATING CARE

This research provides insight into the processes by which Taiwanese people employ foreign carers for older relatives and in particular, the social interactions

between family employers, foreign carers and older persons receiving care. The experiences and social interactions of the participants were being reshaped by global and local processes. The core category, *(re)-regulating care*, was generated to integrate the previously addressed three analytical dimensions, *the reality of the social change*, *resituating roles* and *struggling for control*, to form a coherent and overarching theoretical framework (see figure 8.1).

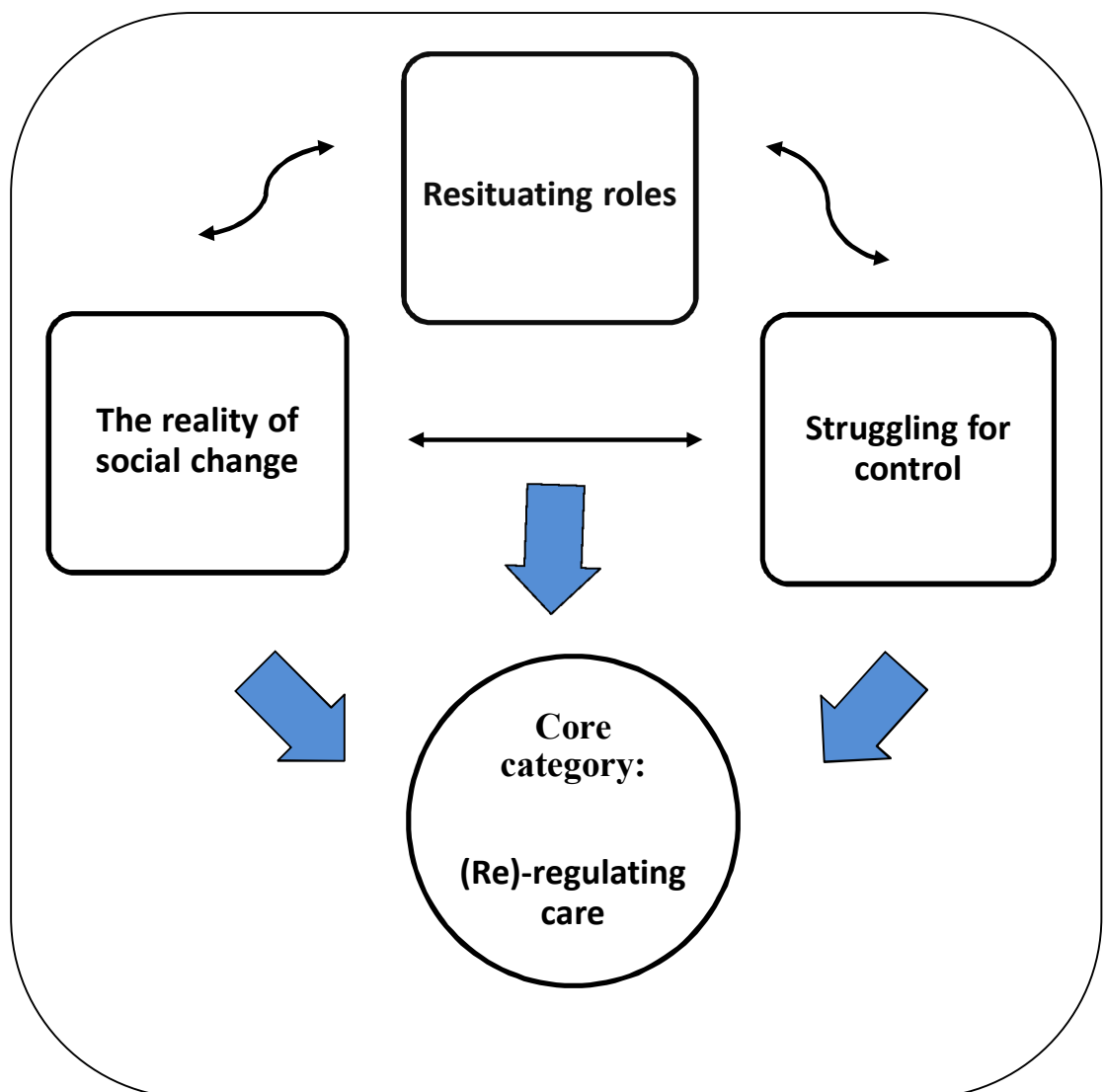


Figure 8-1 *The core category of “(re)-regulating care”*

The first dimension, *the reality of social change*, reflects the processes surrounding the outsourcing of family care to migrant women. The familial obligation of caring for older people has been an entrenched social norm in Taiwan even to the extent that it is enforced through law. The shift to the employment of foreign carers occurred in the early 1990s and served the interests of both families and government in sustaining the family centred care model. Families had a widespread aversion to institutionalisation and this converged with the specific welfare state configuration in Taiwan.

As the new care option, the employment of foreign carers by Taiwanese families saw the identities, roles and social positions of the family members resituated. Where Taiwanese family members employed carers their social role shifted from that of family carers to employers or managers. Where Indonesian and Vietnamese women migrated to work in Taiwan, their identities shifted from daughter, wife, daughter-in-law and mother to breadwinner and decision-maker.

The second analytical dimension, *resituating roles*, conceptualises how the differing social positions of participants were shaped at the international, national and interactionist levels. Important here were the processes that underpinned the hierarchical positioning of participants and the resultant asymmetrical power relations and interactions. Regulations and popular discourse surrounding foreign carers constructed class, race and national differences and this influenced rigid management strategies imposed on foreign carers in households as the structure created the inferiority of foreign carers.

The final dimension, *struggling for control*, depicts how those in less powerful positions, the older people and foreign carers, employed strategies to create space and identities that would sustain a sense of self and autonomy. The vulnerability associated with the foreign carer and older persons receiving care participants were created and reshaped by the social realities. However, these participants were active social actors within the social process to face their social realities, exercise their agencies, seek normalities and then gain some level of autonomy.

In this research, the new regulation of the employment of foreign carers for older people in private households was influenced by the globalisation and industrialisation and hence, the process of (re)-regulating care resituated participants and also created different meanings based on the interactions of the participants within the global and Taiwanese contexts. Participants perceived and understood their situations and identities through a process of communication and interpretation and they acted intentionally with others as family employers, foreign carers or older persons receiving care. The social interactions between these three groups were constructed around issues of social control, negotiation and relationships. *(Re)-regulating care* incorporates three levels of regulatory regimes: the international (globalisation and international agreements), national (social change and regulation) and household (social control and relationships). These sites of control and exclusion shaped and reshaped the identities, social positions, roles, interactions and life experiences of foreign carer, older persons receiving care and family employer participants (see Figure 8-2).

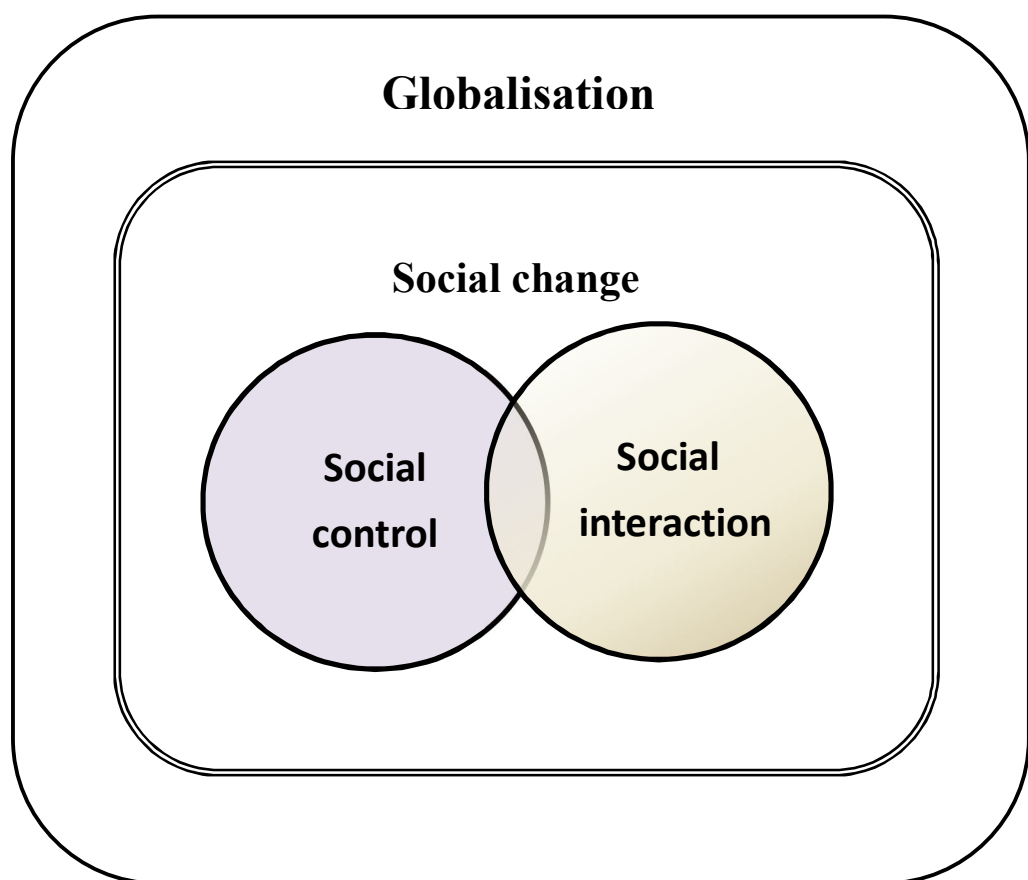


Figure 8-2 *The structure of the research context: (re)-regulating care as theory*

8.3 (RE)-REGULATING CARE AS THEORY

Globalisation is a much used and debated term (Neumayer & Soysa, 2007). As it is used here, the term refers to the globalisation of production and labour and importantly, in relation to aged care, to the movement of migrant female labour from poorer to richer countries to address deficits in the care sector. The thesis also holds that the experiences of the participants were mediated at the international, national and household levels.

The introduction of foreign carers into Taiwan is the culmination of economic development, the increasing global movement of labour and the policy-making of the Taiwanese government. Thus the core category constitutes both international and local levels of social meaning. At one level is the understanding that global economic developments have restructured the role of Taiwanese women and in turn the aged care system in Taiwan. Rapid industrialisation in Taiwan has been accompanied by the movement of large numbers of women into the paid workforce and this has diminished the source of unpaid care labour. In the absence of family the foreign carer has become the substitute labour force in aged care. While the import of foreign carers is a global issue the regulatory structure of this system of care is created at the state and household levels.

Moving from the above, the following discussion addresses macro and micro contexts and gender, race and class divisions as they manifested in the research context. It should be noted that the core category does not explain the whole framework of the aged care structure in Taiwan as the focus here is on care provided by foreign carers in the private sphere. Furthermore, the process of *(re)-regulating care* is not perceived as linear or a cause and effect relation. Rather processes related to social, cultural and political issues are further explored in this chapter to complete the theoretical exploration of how and why the lives of participants were reshaped by (re)-regulating care.

8.3.1 The politics of foreign carers

As noted above, the rapid rise in the employment of foreign carers in the households of older Taiwanese reflects a shifting global political economy. Since the mid-1980s, social and economic development in all regions of Asia has been fundamentally changed by global production and investment. The increasing cross-border flows of finance, products and labour are the defining features of globalisation that have integrated local communities and economies into global relationships (Castles, 2000). For example, globalisation has increased international trade and created work opportunities for labour in poorer countries. As such, a feature of the global economy in the research context has been the employment of large numbers of foreign carers for older Taiwanese which has restructured the households of Taiwanese employers and foreign carers. The findings of this research echo the argument of Safri and Graham (2010, p. 112) that the global household is “an international economic institution” and a product of global development and economic transformation.

The employment of foreign carers is a strategy whereby governments subcontract the demand for care by designing immigration policies that promote temporary foreign care work as a cheaper option to increased welfare (Andall, 2003; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). The import of foreign carers into Taiwan has been an expedient means of addressing a deficit of resources and as cheaply as possible during a period of social transformation. As argued in Chapter 6, the Taiwanese government has a regional superior economic capacity and has been able to dominate negotiations and agreements with labour sending countries. Hence, economic capacity underpins an authority to manipulate the management and control of foreign carers. A consumer who has such a capacity will determine which government rules, what decisions prevail and ultimately who will be marginalised within the global context.

Just as life choices and the possibilities of people are “locked into hierarchical and unfree capitalist social relations” (LeBaron & Roberts, 2010, p. 19), so the mobility of people is also limited and constrained by this hierarchy (LeBaron &

Roberts, 2010). For example, international care chains have developed in richer countries such as American, Canada, U.K, Israel, Greece, Italy and Spain and these have provided market-based caregiving work for migrant female workers from the poorer countries of the Philippines, Indonesia, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Russia, Albania and Mexico. Migrant women have become a crucial source of labour for women in more developed countries that struggle to fulfil the roles of paid employment and unpaid care. This global care chain has also become a crucial part of the international economy in producing significant wealth in the form of remittances to the home countries of the foreign carers. These remittances become the source of primary investment in education (of children) and local housing construction (for the family). Developed and developing countries therefore both have a vested interest in sustaining in the international movement of labour.

However, the process of the international division of labour has produced and reproduced structural inequalities for workers from poor countries (Mahutga, 2006) and in particular for women (Mothanty, 2003) because the fate of third world women is determined not only by patriarchy but also by global capitalism. The process has also reinforced racial and cultural stereotypes and created class and power relations between women within and across national borders. Exploitation was a constant feature in the experiences of the Indonesian and Vietnamese carer participants who struggled even while making a substantial contribution to the economic prosperity of both their home countries and Taiwan. The regulatory regime imposed on the care process is evidence that global capitalism creates hierarchies and the result is discrimination, inequality and exploitation.

The Taiwanese, Indonesian and Vietnamese governments cooperated to construct a situation where aged care responsibility was transformed into purchasable foreign labour for families. This allowed family members in Taiwan to transfer care responsibility to foreign women through economic exchange and aged care thus became commodified and privatised. The dilemma faced by the Taiwanese government, however, was not only how to prevent a situation where foreign carers become the main stay of long-term carers but how to manage foreign workers within Taiwan. As Cheng (2003) argued, the actions of the Taiwanese government reflect

an anxiety over a national identity. Cheng (2003) also pointed out that although foreigners have long worked in Taiwan the sheer numbers entering the country as foreign carers and domestics from the late 1980s on created a strong social desire for ethnic control. Government regulations and private recruitment agencies have thus worked together to sustain rigid constraints on foreign carers. An example is the restrictions imposed in order to control what are perceived as social problems caused by foreign carers. For example, the carers were not allowed to change their employers without official permission and were required to have regular health examinations when working in Taiwan. The social position of these women indeed had been socially constructed as temporary, disposable and inferior. Hence, the working and human rights of foreign carers have been ignored and this has created a hierarchy related to race, ethnicity and nationality.

As noted early, the choice to employ foreign carers in homes caused conflict and ambivalence within families. Yet, the employment of foreign carers appeared as inevitable because social welfare and other forms of government services were insufficient to meet family needs in the aged care area. While a concern of the government is an over dependence on foreign carers and more long-term care were steadily developed over the past two decades, the employment of foreign carers is also an attractive option. For historical, cultural and economic reasons, Taiwanese choose to employ a private carer at home rather than admitting older relatives into long-term care facilities or employing the more expensive local carer at home (Tsai and Lai, 2011). This phenomenon also applies to industrial labour across Taiwan. In 2012 and using the rationale of increasing the competitiveness of industry business groups lobbied the government to cap the minimum wage of foreign workers and to allow more foreign workers into Taiwan (Chen, 2012, June 20). This means that the Taiwanese government is constantly dealing with the tensions between economic prosperity, foreign worker management and national interests.

Indeed, both health professional resources and national health insurance costs are significant issues for the Taiwanese government. The health insurance budget is increasing annually and the shortage of health workers is impacting on the health care system. Recently, nurses and other health professionals held protests over harsh

working conditions and called for adequate working hours and workloads (Chen, 2012, May 2; Chin-fang & Wu, 2012, May 7). According to the National Union Nurses' Association (2012, March 30), over 90% of hospitals in Taiwan have difficulties in nurse recruitment and there is an estimated shortfall of 7,000 nurses. Because nurses are important health providers for home care services, the shortage has exacerbated the long-term carer shortage issue in Taiwan. The maximum working contract of foreign carers in Taiwan was extended in 2012 and restrictions and standards of the employment of a foreign carer at home were altered to address the long-term care needs for more families (Low, 2012, April 27). A further 33,000 older people became eligible for a foreign carer at home following the easing of restrictions.

One way in which the Taiwanese government has sought to manage the competing interests of industry and nationalism is to assign authority over foreign carers to private recruitment agencies. While the number of foreign carers in Taiwan is increasing, a brokerage fee is still a critical source of foreign carer exploitation. Both labour sending and receiving countries depend upon recruitment agencies to mediate the processing of migrant workers. Thus, the recruitment industry continues to expand and to dominate the resources that control the movement of migrant labour. According to the 2010 U.S. Department of State's Trafficking in Person Reports (2011), the majority of trafficking victims in Taiwan were low-skilled foreign workers who were recruited through private recruitment agencies and brokers from Southeast Asia countries. Foreign carers were forced to take on excess working responsibilities and under the threat of being reported were forbidden to go out. Brokers and Taiwanese employers were the main groups violating trafficking laws.

Nonetheless, in response to local and international pressure the Taiwanese government has made some effort to protect foreign workers by weakening the private recruitment industry. A direct hiring service system was officially launched at the start of 2012 to weaken the monopoly of the private recruitment industry. However, not every labour-sending country has participated in this plan and as this research indicates family employers still prefer to use the service provided by brokers because the processes of using direct hiring services are considered too

complex. Furthermore, the agencies continue to have government support because they serve an important role in scrutinising foreign carers prior to and following their entry into Taiwan.

The above discussion considered ways in which the social worlds of the participants were constructed by the global political economy and the movement of foreign carers in Taiwan. Indeed the participant groups in this research can be understood as economic actors in the processes of international production, finance and trade. Just as significant, however, is how participants sought to make sense of their different situations and life environments and their interactions with others is an important dimension of the research. Hence issues around the integration of different identities and the agency of participants are examined below.

8.3.2 The politics of filial piety and care

(Re)-regulating care reflects the political and social reformation of aged care and as such the combination of the global and local. Historically and culturally, caring for older relatives at home has been a taken-for-granted responsibility of adult children. In the traditional agrarian society social and subsequently legal policy related to filial piety developed as a means of sustaining family units in Taiwan. A significant change here is that the positions of the older persons and family employer participants were resituated and aged care practices and interactions within these families were reshaped as filial responsibility was subcontracted to foreign carers. The meaning of looking after older relatives was not only about keeping them in the community, but aged care was reemphasised as the responsibility of families even if that responsibility was reconfigured. Over the last two decades more and more families have outsourced their care responsibilities.

The combination of adherence to filial piety and the transformation of aged care has given social and cultural legitimacy to employment of foreign carers in households. In employing foreign carers in the home the value of filial piety was able to be fulfilled even though the identity of family employer was shifted from carer to manager. The interpretation of the Taiwanese women participants of filial piety was

crucial because they were obligated to take responsibility for the reproductive work in households. Their interpretations influenced the actions, interactions and life experiences of the three participant groups. First, the family employers used their economic capacities and resources to renegotiate social norms and practices in relation to their roles as wife, daughter and daughter-in-law. Second, the identity of the family carers was transformed where family employers gained authority through increased economic power. Third, the older persons receiving care also gained authority over the foreign carers. For the three participant groups, dominance and resistance were played out within the households. As Degiuli (2007) points out, the work of caring for older people at home is “a job with no boundaries” (p.193). Where households were transformed into working places for foreign carers regulation represented the tools by which host families sought to protect their interests and to ensure their benefits.

Cultural norms surrounding filial piety were powerful in the construction of the research phenomenon. Within this cultural context, however, each participant group negotiated to reconstruct relationships with others, filial and otherwise, and in so doing identities were changed. Indeed, older persons receiving care participants repositioned themselves as their identities and social roles were also redefined by the employment of foreign carers in their homes and achieved a new level of personal control.

The physical disabilities of these participants were mostly irreversible and as such threatened autonomy. Thus, other socio-cultural and economic factors related to successful ageing assumed greater importance in influencing quality of life (Hsu & Tung, 2011). Indeed, the majority of the older participants expected support from their adult children. This taken-for-granted expectation of the older people played an important role where role relationships were constructed by institutional norms. This was so because an intergenerational gap had emerged over the fulfilment and practice of filial piety.

The strategy of the employment of foreign carers for older parents differed from the internalised ideal of filial piety. The participants perceived that, where children were relinquishing the care obligation, their social status was undermined and negative feelings of abandonment and neglect developed. Being cared for by foreign carers was constructed as a symbolic loss. Constructing and reconstructing relationships with adult children and foreign carers for this group and in this context was challenging. Communication barriers, cultural differences and the sometimes underprepared foreign carer contributed to care issues.

Yet the older participants interpreted the limitations and established some level of control with the assistance of the foreign carers. Negotiating the distribution of power, control and cultural difference are important in reconstructing social realities (Fine, 1984; Marsella, 2005). Information exchange and understanding cultural difference were negotiation strategies used by older persons receiving care and foreign carer participants. More significantly, it was common for foreign carers and older people to spend the majority of their time together and without the presence of others. Here the responsibility for scrutiny of foreign carers was then transferred to the care receivers. Where the older people had authority to dominate the care practices of foreign carers some level of personal control and autonomy was retrieved. Thus, being cared for by a foreign carer was transformed and symbolised the reinstitution of personal control. *(Re)-regulating care* also reflects, therefore, a social process whereby the older participants exercised agency in actively negotiating their social environments and thus reconstituting the social reality of their later lives.

While conducting social interaction with others, negotiation was important for participants and ongoing in managing in the respective social contexts. In the real world, “individuals shape their own actions in conformance with the structure, policies, and traditions of the social world around them” (Fine, 1984, p. 242). However, specific and significant issues created by social interactions between the three groups participants were related to the vulnerability of foreign carer participants. How foreign carer participants made sense of their various identities and situations and then negotiated with others to sustain normalities are addressed below.

8.3.3 Identity, space and the foreign carer

While the identities, relationships, social positions and interactions were transformed, it is crucial to explore how foreign carers used strategies to negotiate existences in Taiwan society and to create autonomous space. As Korsgaard (2009, p 23) argues, the most practical identities of individuals are contingent because “some we are born into” and “some we adopt for reasons, like joining a profession that is worthwhile”. An individual therefore has many practical identities and a specific task is to organise these identities into a coherent whole. Identities provide reasons for people to conduct social action intentionally as “carving out a personal identity for which we are responsible is one of the inescapable tasks of human life” (Korsgaard, 2009, p. 24). Both symbolic interactionism and social constructionism contend that the identity of social members is constructed through communication and interactions with others within a structural context (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Burr, 2003; Goffman, 1963a; Mead, 1934).

In this sense, social constructionism opposes traditional psychology in emphasising that the nature of human beings is shaped by environmental and social factors. For example, one’s cultural surrounding impacts upon one’s psychology and not just personality (Burr, 2003). Therefore, identity is framed and maintained through social processes and is determined by social structures (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). This means that institutions, collective occupations, nationality, social class, gender, religion are all significant to the identities of social members (Castells, 2010; Heise & MacKinnon, 2010; Peralta-Catipon, 2012). Furthermore, social relationships are critical because “our desires, preferences, beliefs, values - indeed the way we see the world and define reality are all shaped by the particular constellation of personal and institutional social relationships that constitute individual and collective identities” (Hirschmann, 2003, p. 10).

From the above we understand that social members perceive and negotiate their personal and collective identities through socialisation and social interactions such as exchanges through language, symbols and gestures (Blumer, 1969). Hence, recognising a person’s personal identities helps an individual understand how to act

in social situations and recognising a person's collective identities helps an individual to develop feelings related to social belonging, esteem, security and personal identity (Heise & MacKinnon, 2010; Worchel, 2005). In this research, the foreign carers perceived and understood their oppressed identities but not necessarily how oppressive practices and low social status were reproduced through hegemonic discourses, social structures and institutions in Taiwan. Developing positive feelings of social belonging, esteem and security was important to their survival and in sustaining their identities while working in Taiwan.

Indeed, everyday linguistic practices and conversations between people map and shape social reality as "social discourse is integrally involved in constructing our knowledge of the world and that we act to form cultural artefacts which have a pervasive effect upon our psychology" (Dickins, 2004, p. 338). The construction of a discourse is influenced by social approval and conversations and thus this discourse can influence how people interact (Johnson & Cassell, 2001). Therefore, the function of language and linguistic practices was important in understanding the identity reconstruction of the foreign carers. Because language defines action and shared meanings for social actors and, in turn, social actors share their actions and subjective experiences by language (Taylor, 1987), common meanings shared through linguistic practices become the basis of a community (Taylor, 1987). Language was used by brokers and family employers to shape expectations and identities of foreign carers and because of differing languages, foreign carers had difficulty in grasping dominant shared meanings in Taiwanese society and therefore in interacting with host members.

The theoretical points above provide a basis for explaining the vulnerabilities of the foreign carer participants. The overseas working destination of these participants was constituted by Taiwanese people who have a different ethnicity, race, culture and history. This meant that the carers were perceived as foreigners but also lived and worked in a foreign land with foreigners. These carers were thus constructed as outsiders and language legitimised the outside status. Others (Lai, 2011; Peralta-Catipon, 2012; Ueno, 2010) have pointed out that the sense of self and identity of migrant women are influenced by their daily occupations and socio-

cultural environments when working abroad. Emotional and social supports and camaraderie among people from similar cultural backgrounds are important for these workers (Ayalon & Shiovitz-Ezra, 2010). This points to the significance of social networks as referred to in this research whereby the foreign carers were drawn to communities of shared meanings that foreign carer participants created local social networks that brought together workers from the same country in order to support each other.

As noted above, Appadurai (1990, P. 303) defines the fate of low-skilled migrant women as “tragedies of displacement” when working overseas in households. However, agency is a crucial factor influencing crossing border movements, identity reconstruction and economic achievements of migrant women (Barber, 1997, 2000; Lai, 2011; Ueno, 2010). This research determined that foreign carer participants applied their self-conscious agency to negotiate various identities and roles. As space is created by collective social practice and represents an area of social struggle between social interactions (Lefebvre, 1996), foreign carers used strategies to create their space through linguistic conversation and information exchange with people from the same cultures. *Finding a normal space* conceptualised how mobile phones and the internet were mechanisms whereby foreign carers could erect cyberspaces, or virtual worlds, for sustaining personal relationships and building social support. Practical spaces were also created by the participants wherein resources and support were accessed. Based on shared nationality, ethnicity, gender and occupation, public gatherings with peers in markets, parks or other public spaces created communities for social interaction. In so doing, these participants reconfirmed their cultural identity and engaged in the formation of diasporic communities in Taiwan.

While the lives of foreign carer participants were largely shaped by global economic processes and the structural realities in Taiwan, these were strong women who employed agency in negotiating the practical realities of their lives. An important finding in the research relates to the ways in which the identities of the foreign carer participants were transformed in this process. Most obviously, the identity of these participants had shifted from daughter, wife and mother to breadwinner and decision-maker. As they were separated from their families and

were isolated in foreign households, former identities were threatened by regulatory practices and changed social relationships. The shifting of social positions within their families, while often undermining marital relations, afforded the foreign carers an unprecedented degree of autonomy and economic power. As the research shows, these participants worked hard to achieve their economic goals and were not simply passive social actors responding to external forces. The carers actively created spaces within which their personal and collective identities could be affirmed.

The working and human rights of foreign carers in Taiwan have been largely ignored. The concepts of *regulating foreign carers* and *surveillance* conceptualised how laws, formal and informal, have been instituted resulting in greater authority flowing to private agencies, brokers and family employers. As Cheng (2003) argues, in such situations family employers become control agents of the state. For example, as was evident in this research, family employers could terminate foreign carer contracts at any time and the everyday lives of foreign carers were monitored by family employers and older persons receiving care. Furthermore, the mobility and mobile phone use of foreign carers were frequently restricted by family employers. The work of one research participant was video-taped so that family employers could review daily the activities of the carer. Hence, the lives of foreign carers were dominated by both public and private regulatory processes. At the level of the workplace, stereotypes premised on nationality, occupation and the personal and collective identities of foreign carers were produced and reproduced by the hegemonic discourses within the Taiwanese society. The space in which the foreign carers existed therefore was constrained. They had not only crossed national borders but were also required to move between the public and private spheres in their work all of which altered their identities and everyday life experiences.

Although the majority of carers were isolated in households, the creation of personal space remained essential for their social lives as “civic spaces provide not only the physical sites for civil society to function autonomously, they provide civil society with a sense of place in the form of identity, they are vital to the well-being of society” (Douglass & Danieri, 2009, p. 1). As such, a “little Philippines” in Taipei was created by Filipina workers as an environment in which to shop, meet and eat

(Huang & Douglass, 2009). Indeed, language is a powerful tool for foreign carers to exercise their agencies and to create space such as a cyberspace, a virtual world or physical space. This echoes the argument of Taylor (1985b, p 273) who noted that “a public space, or a common vantage point” is created and provided by shared language” and “it creates the peculiarly human kind of rapport, of being together”.

Hence, the carer participants struggled for a better future within a vulnerable environment. They used strategies to actively negotiate choices in their lives and reconstituted their roles and identities as wage earners and decision-makers. Thus again, of importance here is that the carers reshaped their identities and social realities and actively worked to create spaces wherein self-identities could be confirmed.

The agency of the foreign carer participants was focused on linguistic construction, culture and discourses on a daily basis. Making a decision to work in Taiwan was motivated by economic factors and reflected an exercise of agency. Nonetheless, the carers also perceived, understood, and responded thoughtfully to situations. They evaluated reality and made future plans and acted on this reality while working in Taiwan all of which were manifestations of agency. This resonates with Blumer (Blumer, 1969, p. 55) who wrote that the person is an “acting organism who has to forge and direct his (sic) line of action”. The capacity to evaluate desires is bound up with our power of self-evaluation which in turn is an essential feature of the agency we exercise as humans.

The findings of this thesis reveal the significant ways in which social interactions between the three participants groups were mediated through global, national and family relations. *(Re)-regulating care* refers to a transition to a new regulatory care regime that is constituted at the three levels. Hence this framework asserts the importance of bringing to an interpretation of social phenomena both the structural and interactionist; not one more than the other. The case of the employment of foreign carers in private homes in Taiwan situates foreign carers, women employers and older persons clearly within the globalisation of aged care.

Significantly, however, all participants were active in constructing the social realities of their everyday lives. The private sphere, within which the foreign carer was employed and care provided, presented as the domain where global, national and interpersonal relations were played out.

8.4 IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The theoretical findings of this research present an understanding of the phenomenon of the employment of foreign carers for older people at home in Taiwan. They may also contribute to the practices of people who are situated in similar situations such as family employers, older persons receiving care and foreign carers. The following discussion addresses some policy issues that arise from the research and the conditions under which these might be addressed.

8.4.1 Implications and recommendations for the government

The findings of this research may have implications for policy considerations for international and national governing bodies. The international movement of labour has seen increased economic inequality between labour sending and receiving countries. A strong body of research (see for example Ayalon, 2012; Elias, 2010a; Krummel, 2012; Walsh & O'Shea, 2010) indicates that foreign carers globally make up one of the most marginalised worker groups and the insufficient attention paid to the human rights of these women workers is associated with the dominant construction of these workers as "household helpers" and family members.

Policy is largely market-driven and government-led in Taiwan as in all industrialised countries. Instituting labour laws or legislating for the improved working conditions of foreign carers is difficult because it is contested by other interests. The difficulties experienced by foreign carers in many countries are the result of insufficient legal protection (Wang, 2010). Similar to the situation of migrant domestic workers in other host countries (Holgate, 2011), the foreign carers in this research had little access to information about their working rights, labour legislation and the working environment in Taiwan. Migration issues and challenges

have been attributed to lack of protection and lack of credible polices and co-operation between nations in dealing with the working rights of migrant women (Elias, 2010b; Gaetano & Yeoh, 2010; Wickramasekara, 2002).

First, the Taiwanese government needs to be convinced to re-evaluate the processes of the employment of foreign carers in order to protect against exploitation. As Rudnyckyj (2004) argues, only government oversight of migrant labour processes can provide the necessary protection for these transnational workers. According to the ILO (2007, p. 28), private recruitment agencies take great advantage of migrant domestic workers and frequently reported migrant domestic abuse by private agencies includes “bogus employment offers, false information on the nature and condition of job, the charging of fee above the legal maximums and even, in extreme case, mafia-style trafficking”. The current research findings also point to the exploitative practices of the private recruitment industry and the burdens created for foreign carer participants in terms of expensive service fees and a complete lack of control over employment processes and conditions. Strategies used by family employers to manage foreign carers are also very largely mediated by private agencies and brokers. Nonetheless, because it is recognised that the intermediaries, like the family employers, act as state agents in controlling foreign workers, the impetus for intervention to weaken their power is less likely to come from the government and more likely to emanate from the persistence of non-government organisations in arguing for protection of human rights. .

It is significant that although the direct hiring on-line system was introduced supposedly to eliminate brokerage fees, the majority of family employers were not using the system because it was time-consuming and complex. Moreover, the brokers continued to play an important role in regulating the carers and protecting family interests. Furthermore, while over 75% of foreign carers were from Indonesia there has been no agreement forged with Taiwan over a direct hiring system in that country. Thus, the majority of foreign carers are still subject to private recruitment agencies and brokers. Assessment, evaluation and revision of the hiring service is needed to ensure its effectiveness.

Second, the research findings point to the inadequate working preparation of foreign carers and the extent to which this exacerbated misunderstanding and suspicion between foreign carers and host family members and resulted in more oppressive regulation of the carers. This also has implications for quality of aged care. Properly organised and resourced training for both family employers and foreign carers would ensure better quality care relationships. Education and training should incorporate some attention to the cultures of both parties as well as to relevant laws and policies to ensure the protection of both foreign carers and older people.

Third, there was no effective legal protection for foreign carers while they were employed in households in Taiwan. Some foreign carer participants were forced to accept unreasonable working contracts provided by brokers or private recruitment agencies. As the carers had no authority to request an alternative placement the carers were forced to work in exploitative situations. This reinforced the position of the carer as one of servitude. Policies driven by the protection of the rights of foreign carers need to be negotiated between labour organisations, human rights groups and the government and the government needs to be held accountable for their development and application in practice. This would provide clear guidance for foreign carers, family employers and brokers.

Challenging negative discourse is important to the experiences of foreign carers as research states that political decision-making usually is influenced by the “nationalist attitudes and stereotypes articulated in discourses” (De Cillia, Reisigl & Wodak, 1999). More awareness through education needs to be focused on the implications of discourse that produce and reproduce discrimination in terms of race and gender. Dominant people, institutions, discourses, media and practices related to foreign carer practice should be involved to make changes because these social domains are sources of social dominance in the construction of the collective identity of foreign carers. As Friedman (2006, p. 182) puts it:

Social construction is a particularly hopeful approach to take toward anything we regard as wrong or bad because if we find that something bad is a social construct rather than being that way independently of social practices, then we can try to change it socially or, at least, to construct it differently next time around.

Finally, long-term care resources and social welfare policies for older people and families need to be re-evaluated. Providing adequate long-term care services to meet care needs of older people will decrease the care burden for families and may reduce the exploitation of foreign carers.

One source of evidence (Huang, et al., 2009) concluded that 65% of family carer participants surveyed were unaware of respite care service provided by the “Ten-Year Long-Term Care Plan” and only 11% of the participants used the service. Furthermore, a lack of adequate equipment to transport a disabled patient to a nursing home for respite care is really a burden for family carers and it influences the willingness to use respite care services (Huang, et al., 2009). Older persons who are cared for by foreign carers are excluded from some formal care services. Foreign carers therefore are expected to take the majority of care responsibility for those people without adequate formal support. The obvious tension here is that the foreign carers were dependent upon this form of unskilled in order to improve their economic status.

8.4.2 Implications and recommendations for practice

The findings of this research have implications for nursing professionals and family employers. Due to different social and educational backgrounds, foreign carers will face difficulties in providing what is considered appropriate care for older people in areas such as infection control, injury prevention and health promotion. Because the care practices of aged care providers influence quality of lives (Sung, 2009), it would be appropriate for home care nurses to be involved in the health care plans of older persons receiving care in order to facilitate education on relevant skills for family members and foreign carers. Even where foreign carers have been employed, home care nurses should have a role in assessment of older persons and the context of care.

Home health care services have been resourced by the National Health Insurance system in Taiwan over the last two decades, but only a limited number of people qualify for access to home visiting nursing care. A nationwide computerised

data base survey (Chang, et al., 2010) indicated that the majority of home visiting nursing care is to undertake replacement of nasogastric tube, foley catheter and tracheostomy tube, wound care and ostomy care. Because the nursing care payment is a fixed patient rate, patient education is rarely included. Home care nurses are more able to access and evaluate the care needs of older persons. Good support form nurses, access to information and connectedness to others can make a difference (Murphy, et al., 2009).

Previous research (Arnado, 2010, p. 134) has concluded that unskilled migrant workers experience “overwhelming hardship and poor work performance” during the first two years while working in the households of foreigners, and their long-term employment involves more masterful performances in the migrants’ everyday lives”. In addressing the working environment of foreign carers, effective educational resources need to be developed and distributed to families and carers. If a family employer is willing to understand the major disruption of the foreign carer such as separation from families and disruption to cultural and social identities, language, social environment, it will be more likely to bring them into harmony.

8.4.3 Implications and recommendations for future research

This research explored the life experiences of foreign carer, family employer and older persons receiving care participants in domestic settings in Taiwan. As thousands of foreign carers are also employed in long-term care facilities, further studies might explore the experiences of foreign carers, local workers and older people in these institutions. Furthermore, longitudinal studies to explore the life experiences of foreign carers would be significant in understanding the processes on renegotiating their roles and identities over time.

Although private recruitment agencies and brokers have dominated the employment, placement and scrutinising of foreign carers over the last two decades there is a chance that this dominance will be dented by the direct hiring on-line system. Further studies might focus on participant’ experiences of using this service. The dynamic changes and power relations between the private recruitment industries,

family employers and foreign carers after using the directly hiring service are worthy of exploration.

8.5 LIMITATIONS

There were a number of limitations to this research. First, based on social and cultural differences between the researcher and foreign carer participants, the researcher may have failed to fully understand and interpret the context of co-operation in the group of foreign carers through their linguistic interpretations. Even though these foreign carer participants had been working in Taiwan for several years and could communicate in Chinese, language barriers still constrained some of their expression. At times participants needed more time to think and to respond to the researcher as Chinese was not the native language. Moreover, the vulnerable and sensitive position of foreign carers in Taiwan may also have restrained these participants in sharing their experiences. The researcher is Taiwanese and this fact have meant that the participants were less willing to share experiences related to sensitive issues, feelings and attitudes. Indeed, the researcher spent time in building relationships with these participants and gaining trust by visiting and talking in the park several times before conducting interviews. Some foreign carer participants were introduced by the snow balling method and these participants were often more willing to reveal themselves in interviews.

Second, data collection was conducted in Taiwan, but the researcher was researching in Australia. Practical constraints, such as time, budget, location and access, created difficulties. By following the logic of constructivist grounded theory and using theoretical sampling, foreign carer and older persons receiving care participants were to be recruited after interviews were conducted with family employer participants. Although the researcher travelled to Taiwan three times and collected data for nine months in total, it was difficult to recruit more participants relevant to the research area because of practical constraints. Brokers and those who work in private recruitment agencies may have offered quite different data which could have added depth to the theoretical understandings.

Finally, the logic of theoretical sampling could not be fully adhered to during the data collection and analysis. Because of time and environmental limitations, coding and comparison processes were sometimes not completed prior to the subsequent interviews. Because transcription and coding were a time-consuming process, some interviews were conducted within the same week depending upon participant availability. In seeking to redress this issue the researcher wrote memos about questions that needed further exploration from listening to interview recordings and by reviewing tentative categories.

8.6 CONCLUSION

Through a theoretical lens that brought together tenets of symbolic interaction concepts and social constructionism this research sought to conceptualise the social processes that underpinned experiences in the employment of foreign carers for older Taiwanese in households. Data collection and analysis were informed by the constructivist grounded theory work of Charmaz (2006). Data were generated through two focus groups and 54 in-depth interviews with a total of 57 foreign carers, family employers and older persons receiving care. Three analytical dimensions, *the reality of social change*, *resituating roles* and *struggling for control* have been addressed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The core category, *(re)-regulating care*, integrated the three analytical dimensions and also conceptualised an overarching theoretical framework.

This research reveals some important ways in which globalisation and rapid industrialisation have reconstructed aged care in Taiwan. These transformations together have given rise to a new category of work in Taiwan; the foreign carer. The location of foreign carers in private households had the dual effect of transforming the role of the women employers and resituating the older persons receiving care so that both assumed some newfound authority over the carers. Interrelationships within the research context were played out around resistance, control and negotiation. Each participant group worked actively to make sense of their social roles and positions and to reconstruct meaningful lives for themselves.

The life experiences of the women employers reflected the changing social context of filial piety. The subcontracting of aged care to foreign carers was a means of fulfilling filial piety while pursuing greater economic freedom. For older persons receiving care, the appearance of foreign carers signalled loss related to decreased authority and physical decline. As the care receivers sought to make sense of their social realities and limitations, some level of control were regained through establishing relations with foreign carers. The relationships between families and the older participants were thus reconstructed and renegotiated within an ongoing process.

The vulnerable and disparate position of foreign carers was reinforced by formal and informal regulations in Taiwan as these carers were conceived as commodities by global economic processes, governments and the recruitment industry. This research reveals that foreign carer participants were strong women who negotiated social inequality, segregation and exploitative work in order to achieve economic goals. Working overseas for these women was a choice within very limited choice but it was also an exercise of agency. Agency manifested as these carers perceived, understood, redefined and responded thoughtfully to situations, evaluated realities and acted. In so doing, the carers assumed a position of power as remittance heroes, bread winners and decision makers in the homeland. Separation from the social constraints of their societies also created space to develop a self-identity as autonomous.

The findings of this research reflect how social structures, orders, cultural norms influence lives and how the social actors interact with the social environment and others and in reconstructing social realities and meanings. The findings of this research have implications for policy making over the rights of foreign carers, the role of the private recruitment industry, long-term care resources and social welfare for older people and families and health care practices.

References

- Academia Sinica. (2011). Taiwan social change survey. Retrieved from <http://www.ios.sinica.edu.tw/sc/en/home2.php>
- Adams, G., & Afi Dzokoto, V. (2003). Self and identity in African studies. *Self and identity*, 2, 345-359. doi: 10.1080/714050252
- Alvesson, M., & Sköldberg, K. (2009). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Andall, J. (2003). Introduction: The space between-gender polities and immigration politics in contemporary Europe. In J. Andall (Eds.), *Gender and ethnicity in contemporary Europe* (pp.1-20). New York: Berg.
- Anderson, B. (2002). Just another job? The commodification of domestic labour. In B. Ehrenreich & A. R. Hochschild (Eds.), *Global woman: Nannies, maid, and sex workers in the new economy* (pp. 104-114). London: Granta.
- Anh, D. N. (2007). *Labour export from Viet Nam: Issues of policy and practice*. Paper presented at the the 8th international conference of Asian Pacific migration, Fujian, China. Retrieved from <http://apmrn.anu.edu.au/conferences/8thAPMRNconference/10.Dang%20Anh.pdf>
- Anh, D. N. (2008). Labour Migration from Viet Nam: Issues of policy and practice *ILO Asian regional programme on governance of labour migration working paper No.4*. Bangkok: International Labour Organization.
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Global culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity* (pp. 295-310). London: Sage.
- Refused to eat prok-a Indonesian carer kneel down. (2010, May 17). *Apple Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.appledaily.com.tw/>
- Arnado, J. M. (2010). Performances across time and space: Drama in the global households of Filipina transmigrant workers. *International Migration*, 48, 132-154. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00621.x
- Asian Migrant Centre, Indonesian Migrant Workers Union, & The Hong Kong Coalition of Indonesian Migrant Workers Organization. (2007). *Underpayment 2: the continuing systematic extortion of Indonesian migrant*

workers in Hong Kong: An in-depth research. Jakarta: Indonesian Migrant Workers Union.

- Asis, M. M. B., Huang, S., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2004). When the light of the home is abroad: Unskilled female migration and the Filipina family. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, 25, 198-241. doi: 10.1111/j.0129-7619.2004.00182.x
- Ayalon, L. (2009). Family and family-like interactions in households with round-the-clock paid foreign carers in Israel. *Ageing & Society*, 29, 671-686. doi:10.1017/S0144686X09008393
- Ayalon, L. (2009). Fears come true: The experiences of older care recipients and their family members of live-in foreign home care workers. *International Psychogeriatrics*, 21, 779-786. doi:10.1017/S1041610209990421
- Ayalon, L. (2012). Suicidal and depressive symptoms in Filipina home care workers in Israel. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 27, 51-63. doi: 10.1007/s10823-011-9156-8
- Ayalon, L., & Shiovitz-Ezra, S. (2010). The experience of loneliness among live-in Filipina homecare workers in Israel: Implications for social workers. *British Journal of Social Work*, 40, 2538-2559. doi: 10.1093/bjsw/bcq050
- Bakan, A. B., & Stasiulis, D. (1997). Introduction. In A. B. Bakan & D. Stasiulis (Eds.), *Not one of the family: Foreign domestic workers in Canada* (pp. 3-27). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Barbalet, J. (2009). Pragmatism and symbolic interactionism. In B. Turner (Eds.), *The new blackwell companion to social theory* (pp. 463-474). Malden: Blackwell.
- Barber, P. G. (1997). Transnationism and polices of "home" for Philippine domestic workers. *Anthropologica*, 39(1/2), 39-52. Retrieved from <http://www.anthropologica.ca/>
- Barber, P. G. (2000). Agency in philippine women's labour migration and provisional diaspora. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23, 399-411. doi: 10.1016/s0277-5395(00)00104-7
- Battistella, G., & Conaco, M. C. G. (1998). The impact of labour migration on the children left behind: A research of elementary school children in the Philippines. *Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, 13, 220-241. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/>

- Bauer, D. J. (2010, May 16). Foreign works abuse a taint on Taiwan, *The China Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/>
- Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117, 497-529. doi: 10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497
- Beneria, L. (2003). *Gender, development, and globalization*. New York: Routledge.
- Berger, P. L., & Luckmann, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*. New York: Doubleday.
- Bertaux, D. (1981). From the life-history approach to the transformation of sociological practice. In D. Bertaux (Eds.), *Biography and society: The life history approach in the social sciences* (pp. 24-95). London: Sage.
- Biordi, D. L., & Nicolson, N. R. (2012). Social isolation. In I. M. Lubkin & P. D. Larsen (Eds.), *Chronic illness: Impact and intervention* (pp. 97-132). Burlington: Jones & Bartlett Learning.
- Birks, M., Chapman, Y., & Francis, K. (2006). Moving grounded theory into the 21st century: Part 1- an evolutionary tale. *Singapore Nursing Journal*, 33(4), 4-10. Retrieved from <http://www.ebscohost.com/>
- Blair-Loy, M. (2003). *Competing devotions: Career and family among women executives*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Blumer, H. (1971). Social problems as collective behavior. *Social Problems*, 18, 266-282. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/>
- Blumer, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Society as symbolic interaction*. London Routledge and Kegan Paul. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/>
- Blumstein, P. W. (1973). Audience, machiavellianism, and tactics of identity bargaining. *Sociometry*, 36, 364-365. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/>
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourgeault, I., Parpia, R., & Atanackovic, J. (2010). Canada's live-in caregiver program: Is it an answer to the growing demand for elderly care? *Journal of Population Ageing*, 3, 83-102. doi: 10.1007/s12062-010-9032-2
- Bryant, A., & Charmaz, K. (2007). Introduction grounded theory research: Methods and practices. In A. Bryant & K. Charmaz (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of grounded theory* (pp. 1-28). Los Angeles: Sage.

- Buckley, P. J., & Ghauri, P. N. (2004). Globalisation, economic geography and the strategy of multinational enterprises. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 35, 81-98. doi: 10.1057//palgrave.jibs.8400076
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan.
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2005). *What foreign workers in Taiwan need to know*. Taipei: Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training.
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2009a). 產業及社福外勞工人數:按行業及國籍分. [Foreign workers in productive industries and social welfare by various type]. Retrieved from http://www.evta.gov.tw/content/list.asp?mfunc_id=14&func_id=57
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2009b). 97 年外籍看護工管理及人力資源調查. [Human resource and management of foreign labour workers in 2008]. Retrieved from <http://www.evta.gov.tw/files/61/看護工.pdf>
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2009c). 外籍勞工轉換雇主網路作業系統. [Website and system for changing employer]. Retrieved from http://labchg.evta.gov.tw/fl_map/internet/index.jsp
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2010). 1955- 24-hour counseling and protection hotline for foreign workers. Retrieved from <http://www.evta.gov.tw/eng/home/index.asp>
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2011). 產業及社福外勞勞工人數按行業及國籍分 100 年 7 月. [The number of foreign workers in Taiwan in 2011]. Retrieved from <http://www.evta.gov.tw/files/57/721068.pdf>
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2012). 產業及社福外勞勞工人數按行業及國籍分 101 年 6 月. [The number of foreign workers in Taiwan in 2012]. Retrieved from <http://www.evta.gov.tw/files/57/723079.pdf>
- Bureau of Employment and Vocational Training, Taiwan. (2012). 外籍勞工在臺累計工作年限由 9 年延長至 12 年，並取消申請展延聘僱許可程序. [The maximum duration for working in Taiwan for foreign work was been

- extended to 12 years]. Retrieved from http://www.cla.gov.tw/cgi-bin/Message/MM_msg_control?mode=viewnews&ts=4f291320:4e8e&theme
- Bureau of National Health Insurance, Taiwan. (2009). The National Health Insurance Program. Retrieved from http://www.nhi.gov.tw/english/webdata.asp?menu=11&menu_id=290&webdata_id=2964
- Burke, P. J., & Stets, J. E. (2005). A sociological approach to self and identity. In M. R. Leary & J. P. Tangney (Eds.), *Handbook of self and identity* (pp.128-152). New York: Guilford.
- Burr, V. (2003). *Social constructionsim* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Caelli, K., Ray, L., & Mill, J. (2003). "Clear as mud": Toward greater clarity in generic qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(2), 1-13. Retrieved from <https://ejournals.library.ualberta.ca/index.php/IJQM/index>
- Cao, Y. F. (2011, November 19). Jacqueline Liu confessed her crime of mistreating the Filipina household workers. *The Liberty Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/index.htm>
- Castells, M. (2010). *The power of identity: The information age:economy, society and culture volume II* (2nd ed.). Chichester: Wilery-Blackewll.
- Castles, S. (2000). International migration at the beginning of the twenty-first century: Global trends and issues. *International Social Science Journal*, 52, 269-28. doi:10.1111/1468-2451.00258
- Center Human Resource. (2012). Introduction of foreign wrokers form different countries. Retrieved from <http://www.chrhc.com/Chinese/SelectNation.aspx?pid=43&seq=294>
- Cerulo, K. A. (1997). Identity construction: New issues, new directions. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23(1), 385-409. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/>
- Chang, B. L. (2003). Chinese. In P. S. Hill, J. G. Lipson & A. I. Meleis (Eds.), *Caring for women cross-culturally* (pp. 92-107). Philadelphia: FA Davids.
- Chang, H. T., Lai, H. Y., Hwang, I. H., Ho, M. M., & Hwang, S.-J. (2010). Home healthcare services in Taiwan: A nationwide research among the older population. *BMC Health Service Research*, 10(274). doi: 10.1186/1472-6963-10-274

- Cheng, Z. Y., & Dai, Z. Y. (2008). The female foreign workers in Taiwan: Exploration of their working conditions and analysis. *Taiwan Labour* 16, 48-57. Retrieved from <http://www.labour.org.tw/>
- Chuang, K., Chuang, Y., Chen, L., & Wu, S. (2008). Geographical variations in elderly disability in Taiwan. *Journal of Nursing Research*, 16(1), 47-54. Retrieved from <http://journals.lww.com/jnr-twna/pages/default.aspx>
- Chung, M. H., Hsu, N., Wang, Y. C., Lin, H. C., Huang, Y. L., Amidon, R. L., & Kao, S. (2008). Factors affecting the long-term care preferences of the elderly in Taiwan. *Geriatric Nursing*, 29, 293-301. doi: 10.1016/j.gerinurse.2007.09.003
- Chao, S., & Roth, P. (2000). The experiences of Taiwanese women caring for parents-in-law. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 31, 631-638. doi: 10.1046/j.1365-2648.2000.01319.x
- Chaon, J. M. (2006). *Symbolic Interactionism: An introduction, an interpretation, an integration* (pp. 28-42). Upper Saddle River: Prentice-Hall.
- Charmaz, K. (1980). The social construction of self-pity in the chronically ill. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 3, 123-145.
- Charmaz, K. (2003a). Grounded theory: Objectivist and constructivist methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed., pp. 249-291). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2003b). Qualitative interview and grounded theory analysis. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Inside interviewing: new lenses, new concerns*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London: Sage.
- Charmaz, K. (2008). Grounded theory as an emergent method. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. Leavy (Eds.), *Handbook of emergent methods* New York: Guilford.
- Charmaz, K. (2009). Shifting the groundeds: Constructivist grounded theory. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Developing grounded theory: The second generation* (pp. 127-154). Walnut Creek: Left Coast.
- Charmaz, K., & Smith, J. A. (2003). Grounded theory. *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. (pp. 81-110). Thousand Oaks, Sage.
- Charon, J. M. (2007). *Symbolic Interactionism: An introduction, an interpretation, an integration* (9th ed.). Upper Saddle River: Pearson.

- Chen, C. (2012, June 20). Foreign workers not a cure all for labor shortage. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/>
- Chen, C. (2012, May 2). Labor Day protest highlights workers' problems. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/>
- Chen, C. H., & Huang, T. T. (2008). Preference for the attributes of home care service among primary family caregivers. *The Journal of Nursing*, 55, 49-58. doi: 10.6224/JN
- Chen, C. S. (2005). *A research on the influence of work stress in work satisfaction of foreign nurse aides*. (Masters's thesis). China Medical University, Taizhong. Available from <http://etds-lib.cmu.edu.tw/>
- Chen, H. Y., & Boore, J. R. P. (2010). Translation and back-translation in qualitative nursing research: Methodological review. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 19, 234-239. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2702.2009.02896.x
- Chen, L. J., & Wu, S. C. (2008). Factors associated with hiring a foreign care aide among home-dwelling elderly. *Taiwan Journal of Public Health*, 27, 32-43. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2702.2008.02547.x
- Chen, Y. J. (2008). Strength perspective: An analysis of ageing in place care model in Taiwan based on traditional filial piety. *Ageing International*, 32, 183-204. doi: 10.1007/s12126-008-9018-z
- Cheng, L. (2003). Transnational labor, citizenship and the Taiwan state. In A. Rosett, L. Cheng & M. Y. K. Woo (Eds.), *East Asian law: Universal norms and local cultures* (pp. 85-115). New York: Routledge Curzon.
- Cheng, S. J. A. (2003). Rethinking the globalization of domestic service: Foreign domestics, state control, and the politics of identity in Taiwan. *Gender & Society*, 17, 166-186. doi: 10.1177/0891243202250717
- Cheng, S. J. A. (2006). *The household and the nation: Filipina domestics and the politics of identity in Taiwan*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield
- Cheng, Z. Y., & Dai, Z. Y. (2008). 在台女性外籍勞工:工作條件與分析之探討 [The female foreign workers in Taiwan: Exploration of their working conditions and analysis]. 台灣勞工季刊. *Taiwan Labour*, 16, 48-57. Retrieved from <http://book.cla.gov.tw/2008bimonthly/main.htm>
- Chin-fang, C., & Wu, L. (2012, May 7). NTUH retains nurses with increased salaries, benefits. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/>

- Chiou, C. J., Yang, M. S., & Chen, C. H. (2004). Vision of long term care: A family-centered geriatric care. *The Journal of Long-Term Care*, 7(4), 366-398.
Retrieved from: <http://www.ltcpa.org.tw>
- Chuang, J. C.-C. (2011). Impact of social allowances on the elderly poverty in Taiwan 2002–2008. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 4, 241-249. doi: 10.1080/17516234.2011.595918
- Chuang, K., Chuang, Y., Chen, L., & Wu, S. (2008). Geographical variations in elderly disability in Taiwan. *Journal of Nursing Research*, 16(1), 47-54.
Retrieved from <http://journals.lww.com/jnr-twina/pages/default.aspx>
- Chung, M.-H., Hsu, N., Wang, Y.-C., Lin, H.-C., Huang, Y.-L., Amidon, R. L., & Kao, S. (2008). Factors affecting the long-term care preferences of the elderly in Taiwan. *Geriatric Nursing*, 29, 293-301. doi: 10.1016/j.gerinurse.2007.09.003
- Clark, C., & Clark, J. (2008). Institutions and gender empowerment in Taiwan. In K. Roy, H. Blomqvist & C. Clark (Eds.), *Institutions and gender empowerment in the global economy* (pp. 131-150). Hackensack: World Scientific.
- Clarke, A. E. (2005). *Situational analysis: Grounded theory after the postmodern turn*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- CLA restricts Philippine workers after Manila spat. (2011, February 9). *Taipei Times*.
Retrieved from <http://www.taipetimes.com/>
- Constable, N. (1999). At home but not at home: Filipina narratives of ambivalent returns. *Cultural Anthropology*, 14, 203-228. doi: 10.1525/can.1999.14.2.203
- Constable, N. (2007). *Maid to order in Hong Kong: Stories of migrant workers*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basic of qualitative research: techniques and procedures for develop grounded theory* (3th ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Cote, J. E., & Levine, C. G. (2002). *Identity, formation, agency and culture: A social psychological synthesis*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2005). Vietnamese workers are banned to work in private household in Taiwan from January 20, 2005.
Retrieved from <http://laws.cla.gov.tw/Chi/NewsContent.asp?msgid=433>
- Council for Economic Planning and Development, Taiwan. (2008). The estimation of population from 2008 to 2056. Retrieved from <http://www.cepd.gov.tw/ml.aspx?sNo=0000455>

- Council for Labour Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2011). *The report of foreign workers' human rights protection*. Taipei: Council for Labour Affairs.
Retrieved from <http://www.evta.gov.tw>.
- Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2009). The introduction of the National Pension Insurance. Retrieved from <http://www.bli.gov.tw/sub.aspx?a=EqVSfrb7aT0%3d>
- Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan (2010). 1955 外籍勞工 24 小時保護諮詢專線提供服務. [1955 foreign worker protection line provided helps]. Retrieved from <http://www.cla.gov.tw/cgi-bin/Message/>
- Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan (2012). 外勞在台工作年限由 9 年延至 12 年. [Foreign workers' service limit in Taiwan extended from 9 years to 12 years]. Retrieved from http://www.cla.gov.tw/cgi-bin/siteMaker/SM_theme?page=41d35566
- Council of Labor Affairs, Executive Yuan, Taiwan (2012). Foreign workers in productive industries and social welfare by industry and nationality. Retrieved from http://www.cla.gov.tw/cgi-bin/siteMaker/SM_theme?page=432fa270
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five transitions*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- De Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identities. *Discourse & Society*, 10, 149-173. doi: 10.1177/0957926599010002002
- Degiuli, F. (2007). A job with no boundaries: Home eldercare work in Italy. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 14, 193-207. doi: 10.1177/1350506807079010
- Dennis, A., & Martin, P. J. (2007). Symbolic Interactionism and the concept of social structure. *Sociological Focus*, 40(3), 287-305. Retrieved from <http://www.sociologicalfocus.net/index.php/sf/index>
- Denzin, N. K. (1992). *Symbolic interactionism and cultural studies: The politics of interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Department of Health, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2009). 老人健康促進計畫 2009-2012. [Health promotion for older people between 2009 and 2012]. Retrieved from <http://www.bhp.doh.gov.tw/BHPnet/Portal/>

- Department of Health, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2011). 台灣老化地圖-23 鄉鎮超高齡, 89% 老人有慢性病. [An aging population and the prevalence of chronic diseases]. Retrieved from <http://www.bhp.doh.gov.tw/BHPnet/Portal/PressShow.aspx?No=201107110001>
- Department of Social Affairs, The Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (2007). 十年長期照護計畫. [Long-term care ten years plan]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw>
- Department of Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2007). Household registration affair. Retrieved from <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/english/index.asp>
- Department of Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2009). Statistics of long-term care facilities and carers for the elderly in 2008. Retrieved from http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/news_content.aspx?sn=2197
- Devasahayam, T. W., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2007). Asian women negotiating work challenge and family commitments. In T. W. Devasahayam & B. S. A. Yeoh (Eds.), *Working and mothering in Asia: images, ideologies and identities* (pp. 3-28). Singapore: NUS Press.
- Dey, I. (1999). *Grounding grounded theory*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Dickins, T. E. (2004). Social constructionism as cognitive science. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 34, 333-352. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-5914.2004.00253.x
- Direct Hiring Service Center. (2008). Introduction of direct hiring service center. Retrieved from <http://dhsc.evta.gov.tw/eng/intro.html>
- Direct Hiring Service Center. (2011). Choose and hire your foreign worker on direct hiring service system on line from 2012. Retrieved from <http://dhsc.evta.gov.tw/home-chi.jsp>
- Directorate General of Budget, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2000). Statistics of population and housing census. Retrieved from <http://eng.stat.gov.tw/mp.asp?mp=5>
- Directorate General of Budget, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2003). 台閩地區老人居住安排與健康照護之研析. [Health care and living conditions of older people in Taiwan]. Retrieved from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/fp.asp?xItem=1174&ctNode=548>

- Directorate General of Budget, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2009). Resident population by 5-Year,10-Year age group. Retrieved from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/point.asp?index=4>
- Douglass, M. (2010). Globalizing the household in East Asia. *The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relation*, 11(1), 63-77. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezp01.library.qut.edu.au/?accountid=13380>
- Douglass, M., & Danieri, A. (2009). Urbanization and civic space in Asia. In A. Danieri & M. Douglass (Eds.), *The politics of civic space in Asia: Building urban communities* (pp. 1-18). London: Routledge.
- Elias, J. (2010a). Gendered political economy and the politics of migrant worker rights: The view from South-East Asia. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 64, 70-85. doi: 10.1080/10357710903460022
- Elias, J. (2010b). Making migrant domestic work visible: The rights based approach to migration and the 'challenges of social reproduction' 1. *Review of International Political Economy*, 17, 840-859. doi: 10.1080/09692290903573872
- Elias, J. (2011). Women's work in the global economy. In J. Lee & S. M. Shaw (Eds.), *Women worldwide: Transnational feminist perspectives on women*. New York: McGraw-Hill
- Employment Services Act of the Republic of China, Chapter V Employment and Administration of Foreign Workers (2009). Retrieved from <http://laws.cla.gov.tw/Eng/FLAW/FLAWDAT0201.asp?lsid=FL015128&beginPos=5>
- Escriva, A., & Skinner, E. (2008). Domestic work and transnational care chains in Spain. In H. Lutz (Eds.), *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme* (pp.123-126). Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Fan, R. (2006). Confucian filial piety and long term care for aged parents. *HEC Forum: An Interdisciplinary Journal On Hospitals' Ethical And Legal Issues*, 18, 1-17. doi:10.1007/S10730-006-7984-7
- Fan, R. (2007). Corrupt practices in chinese medical care: the root in public policies and a call for Confucian-market approach. *Kennedy Institute Of Ethics Journal*, 17(2), 111-131. Retrieved from <http://kenedyinstitute.georgetown.edu/>

- Fassinger, R. E. (2005). Paradigms, praxis, problems, and promise: grounded theory in counselling psychology research. *Journal of Counselling Psychology*, 52, 156-166. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.52.2.156
- Fine, G. A. (1984). Negotiated orders and organizational cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 10, 239-262. doi:10.1146/annurev.so.10.080184.001323
- Flanagan, R. J. (2006). *Globalization and labor conditions: Working conditions and working rights in a global economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flick, U. (2004). Triangulation in qualitative research. In U. Flick, E. Kardorff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp.178-183). London: Sage.
- Ford, M., & Parker, L. (2008). Introduction: Thinking about Indonesian women and work. In M. Ford & L. Parker (Eds.), *Women and work in Indonesia*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Frank, K. (2006). Agency. *Anthropological Theory*, 6(3), 281-302. Retrieved from <http://ant.sagepub.com/>
- Friedman, M. (2006). Nancy J. Hirschmann on the social construction of women's freedom. *Hypatia*, 21, 182-191. doi: 10.1111/j.1527-2001.2006.tb01135.x
- Gaetano, A. M., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2010). Introduction to the special issue on women and migration in globalizing Asia: Gendered experiences, agency, and activism. *International Migration*, 48, 1-12. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00648.x
- Gecas, V. (1982). The self-concept. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 8, 1-33. doi:10.1146/annurev.so.08.080182.000245
- Gergen, K. J. (1978). Toward generative theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 36(11), 1344-1360. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.36.11.1344
- Glaser, B. G. (2008). *Doing qualitative grounded theory*. Mill Valley: The Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G. (1978). *Theoretical sensitivity: advances in the methodology of grounded theory*. San Francisco: Sociology Press.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Glaser, K., Agree, E. M., Costenbader, E., Camargo, A., Trench, B., Natividad, J., & Chuang, Y. L. (2006). Fertility decline, family structure, and support for older peoples in Latin America and Asia. *Journal of Aging and Health* 18, 259-291. doi: 10.1177/0898264305285668

- Goffman, E. (1951). Symbols of class status. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 2(4), 294-304. Retrieved from <http://www2.lse.ac.uk/BJS/Home.aspx>
- Goffman, E. (1961). *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates*. New York: Anchor.
- Goffman, E. (1963a). *Behavior in public places: Notes on the social organization of gatherings*. New York: The Free Press.
- Goffman, E. (1963b). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. London: Penguin Group.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour*. New York: Doubleday Anchor.
- Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Report*, 8(4), 597-606. Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/tqrnews2012.html>
- Gouldner, A. W. (1970). *The coming crisis of Western sociology*. New York: Basic.
- Government to review hourly minimum wage: President. (2011, September 16). *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://www2.cna.com.tw/>
- Graham, E., & Jordan, L. P. (2011). Migrant parents and the psychological well-being of left-behind children in Southeast Asia. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 73, 763-787. doi:10.1111/j.1741-3737.2011.00844.x
- Griffina, P. (2007). Refashioning IPE: What and how gender analysis teaches international (global) political economy. *Review of International Political Economy*, 14, 719-736. doi: 10.1080/09692290701475437
- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field Methods*, 18(1), 59-82.
- Gunning, J. P. (2007). The dynastic impulse: A speculative hypothesis on Taiwan's rapid post-war growth. In F.-L. T. Yu (Eds.), *Taiwan's economic transformation in evolutionary perspective* (pp.21-35). New York: Nova Science.
- Gustafsson, S., Kenjoh, E., & Wetzels, C. (2002). The role of education on postponement of maternity in Britain, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. In E. Ruspini & D. Dale (Eds.), *The gender dimension of social change: The contribution of dynamic research to the research of women's life courses* (pp. 55-80). Bristol: The Policy Press.

- Hawton, A., Green, C., Dickens, A. P., Richards, S. H., Taylor, R. S., Edwards, R., Campbell, J. L. (2011). The impact of social isolation on the health status and health-related quality of life of older people. *Quality of Life Research*, 20, 57-67. doi: 10.1007/s11136-010-9717-2
- Hayward, C., & Lukes, S. (2008). Nobody to shoot? Power, structure, and agency: A dialogue. *Journal of Power*, 1, 5-20. doi: 10.1080/17540290801943364
- Heise, D. R., & MacKinnon, N. J. (2010). *Self, identity and social institutions*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2006). *In-depth interview*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hirschmann, N. J. (2003). *The subject of liberty: Toward a feminist theory of freedom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ho, M. Y., Tseng, M. Y., & Shu, S. M. (2010). The expanding role of home care nurses in long-term care. *The Journal of Nursing*, 57(4), 23-28.
- Ho-Master International Cooperation. (2012). Introduction of foreign workers from different countries. Retrieved from http://www.homaster.com.tw/nation_indonesia.asp
- Hoang, L. A., & Yeoh, B. S. A. (2011). Breadwinning wives and “left-behind” husbands. *Gender & Society*, 25, 717-739. doi: 10.1177/0891243211430636
- Hobsbawm, E. (1983). Introduction: Inventing Traditions. In E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (Eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 1-14). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hochschild, A. R., Hutton, W., & Giddens, A. (2001). Global care chains and emotional surplus value. In W. Hutton & A. Giddens (Eds.), *On the edge: Living with global capitalism* (pp. 130-146). London: Vintage.
- Hoff, A., Feldman, S., & Vidovicova, L. (2010). Migrant home care workers caring for older people: Fictive kin, substitute, and complementary family caregivers in an ethnically diverse environment. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 5(2), 7-16. Retrieved from <http://www.ep.liu.se/ej/ijal/>
- Holgate, J. (2011). Temporary migrant workers and labor organization. *Working USA*, 14, 191-199. doi: 10.1111/j.1743-4580.2011.00332.x
- Holloway, I. (Ed.). (2005). *Qualitative research in health care*. New York: Open University Press.
- Holloway, I., & Wheeler, S. (2002). *Qualitative research in nursing* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Science.

- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (1994). *Gendered transition: Mexican experiences of migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hondagneu-Sotelo, P., & Avila, E. (1997). I'm here, but I'm there: The meaning of Latina transnational motherhood. *Gender & Society*, 11, 548-571. doi: 10.1177/089124397011005003
- Hsien, F. H. (2012, April 15). Overtime working for six years, over 5,000 hours: An exploited factory for Indonesain workers. *The Liberty Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/>
- Hsin Hsian Manpower Cooperation. (2012). On line resumes of foreign workers. Retrieved from <http://www.phr.com.tw/online.php?Country=&State=&p=2>
- Hsu, H. C. (2007). Exploring elderly people's perspectives on successful ageing in Taiwan. *Aging & Society*, 27, 87-102. doi: 10.1017/S0144686X06005137
- Hsu, H. C., Lew-Ting, C. Y., & Wu, S. C. (2001). Age, period, and cohort effects on the attitude toward supporting parents in Taiwan. *The Gerontologist*, 41, 742-750. doi: 10.1093/geront/41.6.742
- Hsu, H. C., & Tung, H. J. (2011). Coping strategies and adaptation for the disabled elderly in Taiwan. *Geriatrics & Gerontology International*, 11, 488-495. doi: 10.1111/j.1447-0594.2011.00701.x
- Huang, H. L., Shyu, Y. I. L., Chang, M. Y., Weng, L. C., & Lee, I. (2009). Willingness to use respite care among family caregivers in Northern Taiwan. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 18, 191-198. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2702.2008.02538.x
- Huang, L. (2007). Going global: Householding and the demographic transition in Taiwan. *Philippines Studies*, 55(2), 183-210. Retrieved from <http://philippinestudies.net/ojs/index.php/ps/index>
- Huang, L., & Douglass, M. (2009). Foreign workers and spaces for community life: Taipei's little Philippine. In A. Daniere & M. Douglass (Eds.), *The politics of civic space in Asia: Building urban communities* (pp. 51-71). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Huang, S., Yeoh, B. S. A., & Lam, T. (2008). Asian transnational families in transition: The liminality of simultaneity. *International Migration*, 46, 3-13. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2008.00469.x

- Hugo, G. (2006). Women, work and international migration in Southeast Asia: Trends, patterns and policy. In A. Kaur & I. Metcalfe (Eds.), *Mobility, labour migration and border controls in Asia* (pp.73-112). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hung, L. W., Kempen, G. I. J. M., & De Vries, N. K. (2010). Cross-cultural comparison between academic and lay views of healthy ageing: A literature review. *Ageing & Society*, 30, 1373-1391. doi: doi:10.1017/S0144686X10000589
- Iecovich, E. (2011). What makes migrant live-in home care workers in elder care be satisfied with their job?. *The Gerontologist*, 51, 617-629. doi: 10.1093/geront/gnr048
- International Organization for Migration. (2003). *Labour migration: Trends, challenges and policy responses in countries of origin*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- International Labour Organisation. (2006). *Kasambahay Handbook: Everything the Filipina domestic worker wants to know*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.
- International Labour Organisation. (2007). *Decent work for domestic workers*. Geneva: International Labour Organisation.
- International Labour Organisation. (2011a). *Decent work for domestic workers: towards new international labour standards*. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/global/lang--en/index.htm>
- International Labour Organisation. (2011b). *The long journey of justice for Indonesian migrant workers*. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS_164551/lang--en/index.htm
- Jamieson, L., & Williams, L. M. (2003). Focus group methodology: Explanatory notes for the novice nurse researcher. *Contemporary Nurse*, 14(3), 271-280. Retrieved from <http://contemporarynurse.com/>
- Jang, S. N., Avendano, M., & Kawachi, I. (2012). Informal caregiving patterns in Korea and European countries: A cross-national comparison. *Asian Nursing Research*, 6, 19-26. doi: 10.1016/j.anr.2012.02.002
- Jau-Guang international develop cooperation. (2012). Analysis of foreign workers from different countries. Retrieved from <http://www.jweb.bnet.tw/anaiyse5.asp>

- Johnson, P., & Cassell, C. (2001). Epistemology and work psychology: New agendas. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 74, 125-143. doi: 10.1348/096317901167280
- Kao, H. F. S. (2003). Institutionalisation in Taiwan: The role of caregiver gender. *Journal of Gerontological Nursing*, 29(10), 12-21. Retrieved from <http://www.healio.com/nursing/journals/jgn>
- Kao, H. F. S., & McHugh, M. L. (2004). The role of caregiver gender and caregiver burden in nursing home placements for elderly Taiwanese survivors of stroke. *Research in Nursing & Health*, 27, 121-134. doi: 10.1002/nur.20007
- Karner, T. X. (1998). Professional caring: Homecare workers as fictive kin. *Journal of Aging Studies*, 12(1), 69-82. Retrieved from <http://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-aging-studies/>
- Katz, J. E., & Sugiyama, S. (2005). Mobile phones as fashion statements: The co-creation of mobile communication's public meaning. *Mobile communications* . 31, (63-81). London: Springer.
- Khagram, S., & Levitt, P. (2005). *Towards a field of transnational studies and a sociological transnationalism research program: Working Paper No. 24* Cambridge: Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations, Harvard University. Retrieved from http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=556993
- Knijn, T. (2000). Marketization and the struggling logics of (home) care in the Netherlands. In M. Harrington Meyer (Ed.), *Care work: Gender, labor, and the welfare state*. New York: Routledge.
- Korsgaard, C. M. (2009). *Self-constitution: Agency, identity, and integrity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramer, M. K. (2005). Self-characterizations of adult female informal caregivers: Gender identity and the bearing of burden. *Research & Theory for Nursing Practice*, 19(2), 137-161. Retrieved from <http://www.springerpub.com/product/15416577>
- Krueger, R. A., & Casey, M. A. (2000). *Focus groups: A practical guide for applied research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Krummel, S. (2012). Migrant women: Stories of empowerment, transformation, exploitation and resistance. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38, 1175-1184. doi: 10.1080/1369183x.2012.681459

- Ku, Y. L. (2009). 移工運動的主體形塑：以「家事服務法」推動過程為例. [The construction of migrant workers movement subjects: An example in advocating the household service act]. *台灣社會研究. Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 74, 343-365. Retrieved from <http://web.bp.ntu.edu.tw/WebUsers/taishe/>
- Kumar, R. (2005). *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*. London: Sage.
- Kung, L. (2002). 外勞政策的利益結構與翻轉的行政實驗初探—以台北市的外勞行政、文化實踐為例. [Migrant workers in Taipei: Biased central state policy and alternative administration strategy of local state]. *台灣社會研究 Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 48, 235-285. Retrieved from <http://web.bp.ntu.edu.tw/WebUsers/taishe/>
- Kyodo. (2012, June 20). Foreign caregiver exits put program in doubt. *The Japan Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/>
- Lai, C. M. (2012). 藍領外籍勞工管理與諮詢服務執行:以臺灣中部地區為例 [Public administration and consultation for foreign blue-collar workers: The case of central Taiwan]. *台灣勞動評論 Taiwan Labour Review*, 4(1), 88-135. Retrieved from <http://www.labour.org.tw/>
- Lai, M. Y. (2011). The present of forgetting: diasporic identity and migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong. *Social Identities*, 17, 565-585. doi: 10.1080/13504630.2011.587309
- Lan, P. C. (2002). Subcontracting filial piety: elder care in ethnic Chinese immigrant families in California. *Journal of Family Issues*, 23, 812-835. doi: 10.1177/019251302236596
- Lan, P. C. (2003). "They have more money but I speak better english!" transnational encounters between Filipina domestics and Taiwanese employers. *Identities-Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 10, 133-161. doi: 10.1080/10702890390214347
- Lan, P. C. (2004). Jealous madams, anxious mothers: Triangular relationships in the employment of migrant domestic workers. *Taiwanese Sociology*, 8, 43-97. Retrieved from <http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/ntusocial/journal/journal.htm>

- Lan, P. C. (2005). Stratified otherization: Recruitment, training and racialization of migrant domestic workers. *Taiwan Journal of Sociology*, 34, 1-57. Retrieved from <http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/ntusocial/journal/journal.htm>
- Lan, P. C. (2006a). *Global Cinderellas: migrant domestics and newly rich employers in Taiwan*. Durham Duke University Press.
- Lan, P. C. (2006b). 合法的奴工，法外的自由：外籍勞工的控制與出走. [Legal servitude and free illegality: Control and exit of migrant workers]. *台灣社會研究. Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 64, 107-150. Retrieved from <http://web.bp.ntu.edu.tw/WebUsers/taishe/>
- Lan, P. C. (2008). Migrant women's bodies as boundary markers: Reproductive crisis and sexual control in the ethnic frontiers of Taiwan. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 33, 833-861. doi: doi:10.1086/528876
- Laura Desfor, E., & Scott, A. (2010). *Georg Simmel sociological theory in the classical era: Text and readings*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- LeBaron, G., & Roberts, A. (2010). Toward a Feminist political economy of capitalism and carcerality. *Signs*, 36, 19-44. doi:10.1086/652915
- Lee, A. (2009). Shaping one's own destiny: Global economy, family, and women's struggle in the Taiwanese context. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 32.
- Lee, B. T. (1996). *Current situation of the management of alien nursing workers in institutes and the subjective feeling of the elder toward their service*. (Master's thesis). Available from National Digital Library of Thesis and Dissertations in Taiwan. Retrieved from <http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gswweb.cgi/ccd=rgNSxC/webmg?mode=basic>
- Lee, I., Chou, F. H., & Chen, C. H. (2011). Family caregiver issues: gender, privacy, and public policy perspective. *Journal of Nursing*, 58(2), 57-62. Retrieved from <http://journals.lww.com/jnr-twina/pages/default.aspx>
- Lee, J. S. (2008). The admission of foreign labour and its impact on the labour market in Taiwan, province of China. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/publns>
- Lefebvre, H. (1996). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lessig, L. (1995). The regulation of social meaning. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 62(3), 943-1045. Retrieved from <http://lawreview.uchicago.edu/>

- Liao, B. (2010, October 13). Guest worker more like slaves. *Taipei Times*, p. 8.
Retrieved from www.taipeitimes.com
- Liamputtong, P. (2009). *Qualitative research method* (3rd ed.). South Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Lin, C. H. (2004). *The decision making process of employing migrant domestic workers in family with physical disabled elders: Exploring the role and participation of caregiving spouses* (Master's thesis). Available from National Digital Library of Thesis and Dissertations in Taiwan.
<http://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gswweb.cgi/ccd=L5IHP5/webmge?mode=basic>
- Lin, C. J. (2007). 父系家庭與女性差異認同:中產階級職業婦女家務分工經驗的跨世代比較. [Identity differences among women in patrilineal families: A cross-generational comparison of the division of domestic labour of the middle-class working women]. *台灣社會研究. Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 68, 1-70. Retrieved from <http://web.bp.ntu.edu.tw/WebUsers/taishe/>
- Lin, I. F., Goldman, N., Weinstein, M., Lin, Y. H., Gorrindo, T., & Seeman, T. (2003). Gender differences in adult children's support of their parents in Taiwan. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65, 184-200. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-3737.2003.00184.x
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Litt, J. S., & Zimmerman, M. K. (2003). Guest editors' Introduction: Global perspectives on gender and carework: an Introduction. *Gender and Society*, 17(2), 156-165. Retrieved from <http://gas.sagepub.com/>
- Liu, L. F. (2009). Family involvement in and satisfaction with long-term care facilities in Taiwan. *Asian Journal of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 4, 30-35. Retrieved from http://www.hkag.org/Publications/AJGG/Publications_AJGG.htm
- Lo, Y. T., Lin, P. H., Chang, C. T., & Chiang, I. H. (2011). Utilization of the Ten-year, long-term care program by disabled home-bound patients in Taiwan. *Taiwan Journal of Family Medicine*, 21(2), 24-37. Retrieved from <http://www.tafm.org.tw/english.asp>

- Loveband, A. (2004a). Nationality matters: SARS and foreign domestic workers' rights in Taiwan province of China. *International Migration*, 42, 121-145. doi: 10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00304.x
- Loveband, A. (2004b). Positioning the product: Indonesian migrant women workers in Taiwan. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 34, 336 - 348. doi: 10.1080/00472330480000141
- Low, Y. F. (2012, April 27). Address demand for long-term care. *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/>
- Lu, L. (2009). 'I or we': Family socialization values in a national probability sample in Taiwan. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology*, 12, 145-150. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-839X.2009.01276.x
- Lu, L., Kao, S. F., & Chen, F. Y. (2006). 傳統性, 現代性, 及孝道觀念對幸福感影響: 一項親子對偶設計. [Psychological traditionality, modernity, filial piety and their influences on subjective well-being: A parent-child dyadic design]. 本土心理學研究 *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, 25, 243-278. Retrieved from <http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~mcli/default.htm>
- Lu, Y. H., & YI, C. C. (2005). 社會變遷中的夫妻資源與家務分工: 台灣七〇年代與九〇年代社會文化脈絡的比較. [Conjugal resources and the household division of labour under Taiwanese social change: a comparison between the 1970s and 1990s social-cultural contexts]. 台灣社會學 *Taiwanese Journal of Sociology*, 10, 41-94. <http://sociology.ntu.edu.tw/ntusocial/journal/journal.htm>
- Luo, J. G. (Ed.). (2007). *Survey of foreign carers' receiver*. Taipei: Institute of Economic, Academia Sinica.
- Luo, J. G., You, S. J., & Wu, S. F. (2007). Survey of foreign carers' receivers. In J. G. Luo (Ed.), *Foreign workers research in Taiwan* (pp. 129-153). Taipei: Institute of Economic, Academia Sinica.
- Mackenzie, A., & Lee, D. T. F. (2006). Carers and lay caring. In S. J. Redfern & F. M. Ross (Eds.), *Nursing older people* (4th ed. pp. 713-727). London: Churchill Livingstone.
- Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2011). Mobile phone parenting: Reconfiguring relationships between Filipina migrant mothers and their left-behind children. *New Media & Society*, 13, 457-470. doi: 10.1177/1461444810393903

- Mahutga, M. C. (2006). The persistence of structural inequality? A network analysis of international trade, 1965-2000. *Social Forces*, 84, 1863-1889. Doi: 10.1353/sof.2006.0098
- Maines, D. R. (1977). Social organization and social structure in symbolic interactionist thought. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 3, 235-259. Retrieved from <http://www.annualreviews.org/>
- Marsella, A. J. (2005). Culture and conflict: Understanding, negotiating, and reconciling conflicting constructions of reality. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 651-673. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.07.012
- Marx, J. (2006). The feminization of globalization. *Cultural Critique*, 63, 1-32. Retrieved from http://muse.jhu.edu.ezp01.library.qut.edu.au/journals/cultural_critique/
- McCann, T. V., & Clark, E. (2003). Grounded theory in nursing research: Part 1 - methodology. *Nurse Researcher*, 11(2), 7-28. Retrieved from <http://nurseresearcher.rcnpublishing.co.uk/>
- Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society from the standpoint of a social behavior*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mead, G. H., & Murphy, A. E. (1932). *The philosophy of the present*. Chicago: Open Court.
- Meltzer, B. N., Petras, J. W., & Reynolds, L. T. (1975). *Symbolic interactionism: Genesis, varieties and criticism*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan. (2005). 2004 Almanac of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.gov.tw>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Taiwan. (2007). Executive Yuan human trafficking protection report. Retrieved from <http://www.mofa.gov.tw>
- Ministry of Interior, Taiwan. (2001). 中華民國九十一年台閩定區老人狀況調查分析摘要. [The summary of 2000 Taiwanese elderly conditions]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/Survey/91old.doc>
- Ministry of Interior, Taiwan. (2006a). 中華民國九十四年老人狀況調查分析摘要. [The summary of Taiwanese elderly conditions in 2005]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/Survey/94old.doc>

- Ministry of Interior, Taiwan. (2006b). 九十四年老人狀況調查結果摘要分析. [Health and living status of older people in Taiwan in 2005]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/stat/Survey/94old.doc>
- Ministry of Interior, Taiwan (Ed.). (1994). *Report on the survey of elderly welfare institutions' requirment status in Taiwan area*. Taipei: Ministry of Interior
- Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (1999). Activities for the International Year for Older Persons in 1999. Retrieved from http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/04/15/15_4.htm
- Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (2009a). 老人社會福利. [Social welfare of senior citizens]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/04/new04.asp>
- Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (2009b). 社會福利. [Social welfare]. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/04/01.htm>
- Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (2010). 98 年國人零歲平均餘命估測結果. [Life expectancy of Taiwanese in 2009]. Retrieved from http://www.moi.gov.tw/news_detail.aspx?type_code=01&sn=3754
- Ministry of the Interior, Taiwan. (2012). 外勞統計人數報告. [Report and statistics of foreign workers]. Retrieved from http://www.evta.gov.tw/content/list.asp?mfunc_id=14&func_id=60
- Misra, J., Woodring, J., & Merz, S. N. (2006). The globalization of care work: Neoliberal economic restructuring and migration policy. *Globalizations*, 3, 317-332. doi: 10.1080/14747730600870035
- Morse, J. M. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook for qualitative research* (pp. 220-235). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Morse, J. M. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for health*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Morse, J. M. (2009). Tussles, tensions, and resolutions. In J. M. Morse (Eds.), *Developing grounded theory* (2 ed. ed.). Walnut Creek: Left Coast.
- Mothanty, C. T. (2003). *Feminism without borders: decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Murphy, K., Cooney, A., Shea, E. O., & Casey, D. (2009). Determinants of quality of life for older people living with a disability in the community. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 65, 606-615. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2008.04929.x

- Näre, L. (2011). The moral economy of domestic and care labour: Migrant workers in Naples, Italy. *Sociology*, 45, 396-412. doi: 10.1177/0038038511399626
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2003). 台閩地區老人居住安排與健康照護之研析 (二). [The report of living and health care situations of the elderly in Taiwan]. Retrieved from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=1175&ctNode=548>
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2010). 國民所得統計簡介. [The 2010 average wage of different occupation]. Retrieved from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=11978&CtNode=493&mp=4>
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2011a). 人口靜態統計. [Number and rates of birth, feath, marriage and divorce]. Retrieved from <http://www1.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=15408&CtNode=4692&mp=3>
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2011b). 人口靜態統計. [Number of villages, neighborhoods, households and resident population]. Retrieved from <http://www1.stat.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=15408&CtNode=4692&mp=3>
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2012a). 國情統計通報. [National statistic report: Economic support for low income older persons]. Retrieved from <http://www.dgbas.gov.tw/public/Data/222116351271.pdf>
- National Statistics, Executive Yuan, Taiwan. (2012b). 國情統計通報. [National statistic report: Long-term care services]. Retrieved from <http://www.stat.gov.tw/public/Data/241016152571.pdf>
- National Union Nurses' Association (2012), Nurse shortage and working environment in Taiwan. Retrieved from <http://www.nurse.org.tw/>
- Nes, F. V., Abma, T., Jonsson, H., & Deeg, D. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*, 7(4), 313-316. doi: 10.1007/s10433-010-0168-y
- Neumayer, E., & Soysa, I. d. (2007). Globalisation, women's economic rights and forced labour. *World Economy*, 30, 1510-1535. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9701.2007.01060.x
- Noi, H. (2011, April 21). Overseas worker target achievable, *Viet Nam News*. Retrieved from <http://vietnamnews.vnagency.com.vn/>
- Nurses protest work conditions. (2012, April 28). *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/>

- Offenses of Abandonment, Criminal Code of the Republic of China, Chapter 25, Article 294 (2011). Retrieved from <http://law.moj.gov.tw/>
- Orona, C. J. (1990). Temporality and identity loss due to Alzheimer's disease. *Social Science & Medicine*, 30, 1247-1256. doi: 10.1016/0277-9536(90)90265-t
- Ozyegin, G., & Hondagneu-Sotelo, P. (2008). Conclusion: Domestic work, migration and the new gender order in contemporary Europe. In H. Lutz (Eds.), *Migration and domestic work: A European perspective on a global theme* (pp. 195-208). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Pan, S. M. (2007). 外勞政策：外籍家事工受暴現象的社會意義. [Foreign worker policy: the social meanings of foreign domestic workers abuse]. *Social Development 社會發展季刊*, 119, 103-117. Retrieved from <http://sowf.moi.gov.tw/19/quarterly.htm>
- Parents and Children, Civil Code of the Republic of China, Chapter III, Article 1084 (2011). Retrieved from <http://law.moj.gov.tw/>
- Parish, W. L., & Willis, R. J. (1993). Daughters, education, and family budgets Taiwan experiences. *Journal of Human Resources*, 863-898. Retrieved from <http://uwpress.wisc.edu/journals/journals/jhr.html>
- Parreás, R. S. (2001). Transgressing the nation-state: The partial citizenship and "imagined (global) community" of migrant Filipina domestic workers. *Signs*, 26(4), 1129-1154. Retrieved from <http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/journals/journal/signs.html>
- Parreñas, R. (2005). Long distance intimacy: Class, gender and intergenerational relations between mothers and children in Filipina transnational families. *Global Networks*, 5, 317-336. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00122.x
- Parrenas, R. S. (2000). Migrant Filipina domestic workers and the international division of reproductive labor. *Gender and Society*, 14, 560-580. doi: 10.1177/089124300014004005
- Parreñas, R. S. (2005). *Children of global migration: Transnational families and gendered woes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Passar, P. (2005). Women, gender and international migration across and beyond the American: Inequalities and limited empowerment. Retrieved from http://www.un.org/esa/population/meetings/IttMigLAC/P08_PPessar.pdf

- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Pavalko, E. K., & Woodbury, S. (2000). Social roles as process: Caregiving careers and women's health. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 41(1), 91-105. Retrieved from <http://www.asanet.org/journals/jhsb/index.cfm>
- Peralta-Catipon, T. (2012). Collective occupations among Filipina migrant workers: Bridging disrupted identities: occupation, participation and health. *American Occupational Therapy Foundation*, 32, 14-21. doi: 10.3928/15394492-20110805-01
- Perfection Manpower Cooperation. (2012). How to choose a suitable foreign carer. Retrieved from http://www.perfection-manpower.com.tw/web/SG?pageID=37843&_fcmID=FG0000108489000002_1_4
- Pettman, J. J. (2003). Gendering globalization in Asia through miracle and crisis. *Gender, Technology and Development*, 7, 171-187. doi: 10.1177/097185240300700202
- Pingol, A. T. (2001). *Remarking masculinities: Identity, power, gender dynamics in families with migrant wives and husbands*. Manila: University of the Philippines.
- Pinoys troop to Taiwan after resumption of ties. (2011, March 28). *ABS-CBN News*. Retrieved from <http://www.abs-cbnnews.com/>
- Piper, N. (2004). Rights of foreign workers and the politics of migration in South-East and East Asia. *International Migration*, 42, 71-97. doi: 10.1111/j.0020-7985.2004.00302.x
- Powell, J. L. (2006). *Social theory and aging*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Powers, C. H. (2004). Symbolic interactionism in everyday life: People make a difference. In C. H. Powers (Eds.), *Making sense of social theory: A practical introduction* (pp. 171-189). Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Pratt, G. (2009). Circulating sadness: Witnessing Filipina mothers' stories of family separation. *Gender, Place & Culture*, 16, 3-22. doi: 10.1080/09663690802574753
- Putnam, M. (2002). Linking aging theory and disability models: increasing the potential to explore aging with physical impairment. *The Gerontologist*, 42, 799-806. doi: 10.1093/geront/42.6.799

- Rabiee, F. (2004). Focus-group interview and data analysis. *Nutrition Society. Proceedings*, 63(4), 655-660. Retrieved from ProQuest Central database <http://search.proquest.com/index>.
- Remo, M. V. (2012, March 16). January remittances rise 5.4% to \$1.56B. *Philippine Daily Inquirer*. Retrieved from <http://www.inquirer.net/>
- Research Development and Evaluation Commission. (2002). *The possible problems which are created by foreign workers and the solutions*. Taipei: Executive Yuan.
- Roth, D. L., Haley, W. E., Wadley, V. G., Clay, O. J., & Howard, G. (2007). Race and gender differences in perceived caregiver availability for community-dwelling middle-aged and older adults. *The Gerontologist*, 47, 721-729. doi: 10.1093/geront/47.6.721
- Roy, K. C., Blomqvist, H. C., & Clark, C. (2008). Dimension of poverty and discrimination against women. In K. C. Roy, H. C. Blomqvist & C. Clark (Eds.), *Institutions and gender empowerment in the global economy* (pp. 21-50). Hackensack: World Scientific.
- Rudnyckyj, D. (2004). Technologies of servitude: Governmentality and Indonesian transnational labor migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 77(3), 407-434. Retrieved from <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/anq/index.html>
- Ruiping, F. (2006). Confucian filial piety and long term care for aged parents. *HEC Forum*, 18, 1. doi: 10.1007/s10730-006-7984-7
- Russell, B. (1938). *Power: A new social analysis*. London: Lowe and Brydone.
- Safri, M., & Graham, J. (2010). The global household: Toward a Feminist postcapitalist international political economy. *Signs*, 36, 99-125. doi:10.1086/652913
- Sandelowski, M. (1993). Rigour or rigour mortis: The problem of rigour in qualitative research revisited. *Advances in Nursing Science*, 16(2), 1-8. Retrieved from <http://journals.lww.com/advancesinnursingscience/pages/default.aspx>
- Sarvasy, W., & Longo, P. (2004). The globalization of care. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 6, 392-415. doi: 10.1080/1461674042000235582
- Sauder, M. (2005). Symbol and context: An interactionist approach to the research of social status. *Sociological Quarterly*, 46, 279-298. doi: 10.1111/j.1533-8525.2005.00013.x

- Saxton, S. (1993). Sociologist as citizen-scholar: A symbolic interactionist alternative to normal sociology. In T. R. Vaughan, G. Sjoberg & L. T. Reynolds (Eds.), *A critique of contemporary American sociology* (pp. 232-251). New York: General Hall.
- Searle, J. R. (2006). Reality and social construction: Reply to Friedman. *Anthropological Theory*, 6(1), 81-88. Retrieved from <http://ant.sagepub.com/>
- Seggern, M. V., & Young, N. F. (2003). The focus group method in libraries: Issues relating to process and data analysis. *Reference Service Review*, 31(3), 272-284. doi: 10.1108/00907320310486872
- Shankar, A., McMunn, A., Banks, J., & Sfeptoe, A. (2011). Loneliness, social Isolation, and behavioral and biological health indicators in older adults. *Health Psychology*, 30, 377-385. doi: 10.1037/a0022826
- Shimpuku, Y., & Norr, K. F. (2012). Working with interpreters in cross-cultural qualitative research in the context of a developing country: systematic literature review. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 68, 1692-1706. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2012.05951.x
- Simmel, G. (1978). *The philosophy of money*. New York: Routledge.
- Simmel, G. (1991). Money in modern culture. *Theory, Culture & Society*, 8, 17-31. doi: 10.1177/026327691008003002
- Smithson, J. (2000). Using and analysing focus groups: Limitations and possibilities. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology* 3(2), 103-119. doi:10.1080/136455700405172
- Sobritchea, C. I. (2007). Constructions of mothering: The experience of female Filipina overseas workers. In T. W. Devasahayam & B. S. A. Yeoh (Eds.), *Working and mothering in Asia: images, ideologies and identities* (pp. 173-194). Singapore: NUS Press.
- SouthEast Asia Group. (2011). Servants picking on line system. Retrieved from <http://www.sea.com.tw>
- SouthEast Asia Group. (2012a). Behaviour changes during second contract and professional help. Retrieved from <http://www.sea.com.tw/index.asp?id=19&xid=17>
- SouthEast Asia Group. (2012b). Comparison of foreign workers from different countries. Retrieved from <http://www.sea.com.tw/index.asp?id=9&xid=2>

- Srtrauss, A. (Eds.). (1934). *The social psychology of George Herbert Mead*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Squires, A. (2009). Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 46, 277-287. doi: 10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2008.08.006
- Stob, P. (2008). Terministic screens, social constructionism, and the language of experience: Kenneth Burke's utilization of Willoam James. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, 41, 130-152. doi: 10.1353/par.0.0001
- Strang, V. R., Koop, P. M., Dupuis-Blanchard, S., Nordstrom, M., & Thompson, B. (2006). Family caregivers and transition to long-term care. *Clinical Nursing Research*, 15, 27-45. doi: 10.2277/1054773805282356
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basic of qualitative research: Grounded theory procedures and techniques*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basic of qualitative research: Grounded theory produres and technigues*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Steinke, I. (2004). Quality criteria in qualitative research In U. Flick, E. v. Kardorff & I. Steinke (Eds.), *A companion to qualitative research* (pp. 184-190). London: Sage.
- Stryker, S. (1979). The profession: Comments from an interactionist's perspective. *Sociological Focus*, 12, 175-186. Retrieved from http://www.ncsanet.org/?page_id=44
- Suarez-Orozco, C., Todorova, I. L. G., & Louie, J. (2002). Making up for lost time: The experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families. *Family Process*, 41, 625-643. doi: 10.1111/j.1545-5300.2002.00625.x
- Sung, K.-T. (2009). Roots of elder respect: Ideals and practices in East Asia. In K.-T. Sung & B. J. Kim (Eds.), *Respec for the elderly: Implications for human service providers* (pp.6-24). Lanham: University Press of America.
- Taipei human resource agnecy. (2012). Analysis of foreign worker from different countries. Retrieved May 14, 2012, from <http://www.vnzpo.url.tw/int.htm>
- Tapei mulls actions against Manila. (2011, February 11). *Taipei Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.taipeitimes.com/>
- Tai, T (2008a). "Poverty, household composition, and welfare states: A multi-level analysis of 22 countries". *Working paper series (Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta)* , (492).

- Tai, T (2008b) Poverty gaps among age groups: Taiwan's case in an international perspective.(Doctoral dissertation, University of California). Retrieved from: <http://search.proquest.com.ezp01.library.qut.edu.au/docview/304648391/abstract?accountid=13380>
- Taiwan International Workers Association. (2004). Draft of Household Service Act, workers' version. Retrieved from <http://www.tiwa.org.tw/>
- Taiwan International Workers Association. (2006). Speak out the reality of foreign worker's human right. Retrieved from <http://www.tiwa.org.tw/index.php?itemid=181>
- Taiwan mulls plan to attract white collar workers. (2011). *The China Post*. Retrieved from www.chinapost.com.tw
- Taylor, C. (1985a). *Human agency and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1985b). The Person. In M. Carrithers, S. Collins & S. Lukes (Eds.), *The category of the person: Anthropology, philosophy, history* (pp. 257-281). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, C. (1987). Interpretation and the sciences of man. In P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Interpretive social sciences: A second look* (pp. 33-81). Berkeley: University of California press.
- The National Union Nurses' Associations. (2012, March 30). Heavy working responsibility of nurses and nurses shortage. Retrieved from <http://www.nurse.org.tw/>
- The World Bank. (2011). *The international bank for reconstruction and development*. Washington: The World Bank
- Thomas, G., & James, D. (2006). Reinventing grounded theory: Some questions about theory, ground and discovery. *British Educational Research Journal*, 32, 767-795. doi: 10.1080/01411920600989412
- Thomas, M. (2009). *ICTs and everyday communication of migrant female domestic workers in Singapore* (Master's Thesis). Available from University of Singapore database. <http://scholarbank.nus.sg/about>
- Tierney, R. (2007). The guest labor system in Taiwan - labor market considerations, wage injustices, and the politics of foreign labor brokerage. *Critical Asian Studies*, 39, 205-228. doi: 10.1080/14672710701339410

- Tierney, R. (2008). Inter-ethnic and labour-community coalitions in class struggle in Taiwan since the advent of temporary immigration. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 21, 482-496. doi: 10.1108/09534810810884876
- Tomaka, J., Thompson, S., & Palacios, R. (2006). The relation of social isolation, loneliness, and social support to disease outcomes among the elderly. *Journal of Aging and Health*, 18, 359-384. doi: 10.1177/0898264305280993
- Tran, A. N. (2011). The Vietnam case: Workers versus the global supply chain. *Harvard International Review Summer*, 60-65. Retrieved from <http://hir.harvard.edu/>
- Tsai, A. C.-H., & Lai, T.-M. (2011). Predicting the need of formal care in Taiwan: Analysis of a national random sample. *Archives of Gerontology and Geriatrics*, 53, 298-302. doi: 10.1016/j.archger.2010.12.003
- Tsai, H. H., Chen, M. H., & Tsai, Y. F. (2008). Perceptions of filial piety among Taiwanese university students. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 63, 284-290. doi: 10.1111/j.1365-2648.2008.04711.x
- Tsai, H. Y. (2006). *A research of foreign nursing labor in Taiwan and a critical review on long-term care policy*. (Master's thesis). National Chengchi University, Taipei. Retrieved from National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan.
- Tsao, Y. S. (2002). *The care relationship changes between disabled elders and their family caregivers when hiring a migrant carer* (Master's thesis). National Taiwan University, Taipei. Retrieved from National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan.
- Tseng, Y. F. (2000). The mobility of entrepreneurs and capital: Taiwanese capital-linked migration. *International Migration*, 38, 143-168. doi: 10.1111/1468-2435.00105
- Tseng, Y. F., & Wang, H. Z. (2011). Governing migrant workers at a distance: Managing the temporary status of guestworkers in Taiwan. *International Migration*. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2435.2010.00639.x
- U.S. Department of State. (2011). The 2010 trafficking in persons report. Retrieved from <http://www.state.gov/j/tip/rls/tiprpt/2010/index.htm>

- Ueno, K. (2010). Identity management among Indonesian and Filipina migrant domestic workers in Singapore. *International Journal of Japanese Sociology*, 19, 82-97. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6781.2010.01128.x
- Ukwatta, S. (2010). Sri Lankan female domestic workers overseas: Mothering their children from a distance. *Journal of Population Research*, 27, 107-131. doi: 10.1007/s12546-010-9035-0
- United Nations. (1999). *1999 world survey on the role of women in development: Globalization, gender and work*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations. (2009). *2009 world survey on the role of women in development: Women's control over economic resources and access to financial resources, including microfinance*. New York: United Nations.
- Velasco, P. M. (1997). We can still fight back: Organising domestic worker in Toronto. In A. B. Bakan & D. Stasiulis (Eds.), *Not one of the family: Foreign domestic workers in Canada* (pp. 157-164). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Victor, C., Scrammler, S., & Bond, J. (2009). *The social world of older people*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Victor, C. R. (2010). *Ageing, health and care*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Villarruz, B. C. (1995). Should I go or should I stay? *Tinig Filipina*, October 62.
- Walsh, K., & O'Shea, E. (2010). Marginalised care: Migrant workers caring for older people in Ireland. *Journal of Population Ageing*, 3, 17-37. doi: 10.1007/s12062-010-9030-4
- Wang, C. (2012, February 02). Taiwan protests Philippines' deportation of Taiwanese to China, *Focus Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://focustaiwan.tw/>
- Wang, F. (2010). The globalization of care in Taiwan: From undutiful daughter-in-law to cold-blood migrant killer. In K. Scheiwe & J. Krawietz (Eds.), *Transnationale sorgearbeit: Rechtliche rahmenbedingungen und gesellschaftliche praxis* (pp. 309-328). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- Wang, H. Z. (2007). Hidden spaces of resistance of the subordinated: Case studies from Vietnamese female migrant partners in Taiwan. *International Migration Review*, 41, 706-727. doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2007.00091.x
- Wang, H. Z., & Belanger, D. (2011). Exploitative recruitment processes and working conditions of Vietnamese migrant workers in Taiwan. In A. Chan (Eds.),

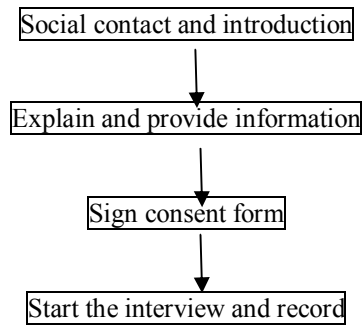
- Labour in Vietnam* (pp. 309-334). Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies.
- Wang, K. Y. T. (2011). Child care and elder care arrangements in Taiwan. *Journal of Comparative Social Welfare*, 27, 165-174. doi: 10.1080/17486831.2011.567021
- Wang, K. Y. T., Wong, C. K., & Tang, K. L. (2012). Citizens' attitudes towards economic insecurity and government after the 2007 financial tsunami: A Hong Kong and Taiwan comparison. *International Journal of Social Welfare*. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-2397.2012.00883.x
- Wang, L., Ho, M., Lu, K., & Yeh, S. (2007). The relationships between caregivers' social, appraisal of care and quality of family care among the disabled elderly. *Journal of Evidence-Based Nursing*, 3(3), 177-187. Retrieved from <http://www.ceps.com.tw/ec/echome.aspx>
- Wang, Y.-T., & Lin, W. I. (2011). Successful ageing: The case of Taiwan. *Australasian Journal on Ageing*, 1-6. doi: 10.1111/j.1741-6612.2011.00556.x
- Wen, L. F. (2012). 民國 101 年 6 月戶口統計資料分析. [Household statistics data analysis in June 2012]. Retrieved from http://www.ris.gov.tw/zh_TW/latestmessage/
- Weicht, B. (2010). Embodying the ideal carer: The Austrian discourse on migrant carers. *International Journal of Ageing and Later Life*, 5(2), 17-52. Retrieved from <http://www.ep.liu.se/ej/ijal/>
- Wichterich, C. (2002). *The globalized woman: Reports from the future of inequality* (P. Camiller, Trans.). North Melbourne: Spinifex.
- Wickramasekara, P. (2002). *Labour Migration in Asia: Trends, challenge, policy responses in countries of origin*. Paris: International Organization for Migration.
- Worchel, S. (2005). Culture's role in conflict and conflict management: Some suggestions, many questions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29, 739-757. doi: 10.1016/j.ijintrel.2005.08.011
- World Health Organization. (2001). *The global embrace handbook*. Geneva: World Health Organization.
- World Health Organization. (2011). *Global health and ageing*. Geneva: World Health Organization.

- World Health Organization. (2012). Definition of an older or elderly person.
Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/healthinfo/survey/ageingdefnolder/en/>
- Wu, D. (2010, May 10). Employer 'forced Muslims to eat pork'. *The Australian*.
Retrieved from <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/>
- Wu, T. F., Yeh, K.-H., Cross, S. E., Larson, L. M., Wang, Y. C., & Tsai, Y. L. (2010). Conflict with mothers-in-law and Taiwanese women's marital satisfaction: The moderating role of husband support. *The Counseling Psychologist, 38*, 497-522. doi: 10.1177/0011000009353071
- Xue, M. J. (2011). Choose foreign work on line form next January. *Chinatimes*.
Retrieved from <http://news.chinatimes.com/>
- Xue, Z. Y. (2007). *A research of sleep quality , mental health and sexual harassment among Filipina househole works in Taiwan*. (Unphished Master's thesis)
National Yang Ming University, Taipei.
- Yang, M. J., Shin, C. H., Cheng, S. H., Ho, C. K., & Chen , S. S. (1999). Exploration of adjustment difficulties among foreign workers *Formosa Journal of Mental Health, 12*(1), 93-108.
- Yeh, K. H., & Yang, K.-S. (2008). *Chinese filial piety: Psychological analysis*.
Taipei: National Taiwan University Press.
- Yeoh, B. S. A., & Huang, S. (1998). Negotiating public space: Strategies and styles of migrant female domestic workers in Singapore. *Urban Studies, 35*, 583-602. doi: 10.1080/0042098984925
- Yeoh, B. S. A., & Huang, S. (2010). Foreign domestic workers and home-based care for elders in Singapore. *Journal of Aging & Social Policy, 22*, 69-88. doi: 10.1080/08959420903385635
- Yeoh, B. S. A., Huang, S., & Devasahayam, T. W. (2004). Diasporic subjects in the nation: Foreign domestic workers, the reach of law and civil society in Singapore. *Asian Studies Review, 28*, 7-23. doi: 10.1080/1035782042000194491
- Yeoh, B. S. A., Huang, S., & Iii, J. G. (1999). Migrant female domestic workers: debating the economic, social and political impacts in Singapore. *International Migration Review, 33*(1), 114-136. Retrieved from: <http://cmsny.org/imr/>

- Yeoh, B. S. A., Huang, S., & Lam, T. (2005). Transnationalising the Asian family: Imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents. *Global Networks*, 5, 307-315. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-0374.2005.00121.x
- Yu, W. B. (2009). *Gendered Trajectories: Women, work, and social change in Japan and Taiwan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Yu, W. S. (2003). Family. In C. Z. Wang & H. Y. Qu (Eds.), *Sociology and Taiwanese society* (pp.249-280). Taipei: LiWen.
- Zhan, W. R. (2011, May 27). They are not products: Servants in contemporary Taiwanese society *Radio Taiwan International*. Retrieved from <http://news.rti.org.tw/>

Appendices

The process of the in-depth interview and interview questions



Interview questions :

Tell me about how you came to hire a foreign carer?

請你分享是在什麼情況下,讓你雇用外籍看護 你如何雇用外護?

(The care needs of the elderly relative)

Could you describe a typical day for you before having a foreign carer at your home 請你分享

外籍看護尚未接手照顧老人家之前的生活 例如你一天的生活狀況

When did you come to make a decision...

什麼時間點 讓你思考到要雇用外籍看護

What was happening at the time?

當時發生了什麼事?

What did you have to take into consideration before hiring a FC...

聘請外護之前 你做過什麼樣的考慮?

How did you make the decision to hire a foreign carer?

後來 你又是如何下決定要聘外護?

Who if anyone, influenced your action?

是不是有人影響你做這個決定?

Tell me about how she or he influences you?

這個人如何影響你? 可以舉例說明

How was the process you went through of hiring a foreign carer?

為了聘請外護 你經過哪些的歷程?

What was going on in your life after you hired a foreign carer?

聘請外籍看護後 你的生活有什麼改變?

How you viewed this thing of having a foreign carer at home before it happened?

還沒請外護之前 你自己怎樣看待家裡有外籍勞工這件事?

How do you see the relationship between your family and your foreign carer?

你怎麼看待外籍看護和你們家人的關係?

How, if at all, has your view of having a foreign carer at home changed?

Can you describe how this changed your life and the life of your family

請你陳述一下聘請外籍看護後 你們家庭生活的變化和改變

Can you give some examples

可以舉例 或分享一些小故事嗎？

What are the positive and/or negative changes have occurred in your life after the foreign carer came to your home?

請你陳訴在雇用外看護工後 你生活中有那些正面及負面的改變

Can you describe how you manage the relationship with the foreign carer at home?

你怎樣看待和因應面對你和外籍看護的關係？

Who has been the most helpful to you during this time? How has he /she been a help?

在適應有外籍看護的生活過程中 誰對你提供最大的幫助？ 他如何幫助你？

Can you describe the most important lessons you have learned about your experience of hiring a foreign carer for your elderly relative?

請你分享在聘請外籍看護過程中 你覺得你學到最重要的經驗是什麼？

After having the experiences, what advice would you give to someone who has just faced the situation you had?

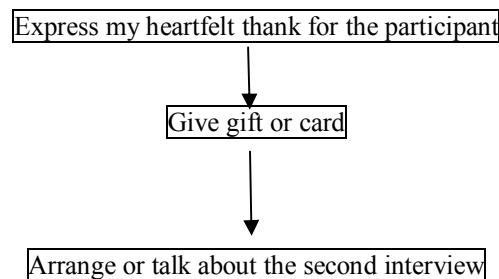
在你獲得這些經驗後 你想給那些和你有同處境的人 什麼建議？

Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?

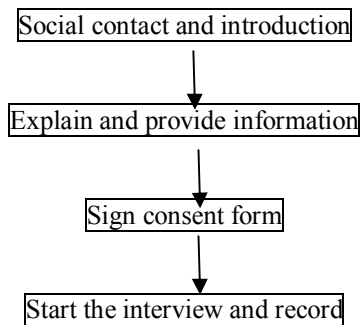
在你參加這次的訪談前 有那些事 是你從來沒想過的？

Is there anything you would like to ask me?

在結束前 有沒有那些事 是你想要跟我分享的？



The process of the in-depth interview with foreign carer and interview questions



Interview Questions :

Tell me about how you come to work in Taiwan as a carer?

請你分享是在什麼情況下,讓你決定到台灣當看護工?

Could you describe a typical day for you before working in Taiwan at your home 請你分享尚未接手照顧台灣老人之前的生活 例如你一天的生活狀況

When did you come to make a decision...

什麼時間點 讓你思考到要到台灣工作

What was happening at the time?

當時發生了什麼事?

What did you have to take into consideration before working in Taiwan?

到台灣工作之前 你做過什麼樣的考慮?

How did you make the decision to come to work?

後來 你又是如何下決定要到台灣工作?

Who if anyone, influenced your action?

是不是有人影響你做這個決定?

Tell me about how she or he influences you?

這個人如何影響你? 可以舉例說明

How was the process you went through of working in Taiwan as a carer?

為了到台灣工作 你經過哪些的歷程?

What was going on in your life after you are employed in a Taiwanese house?

聘請外籍看護後 你的生活有什麼改變?

How you viewed this thing of working in Taiwan as a carer before it happened?

還沒請外護之前 你自己怎樣看待這件事?

How do you see the relationship between you and your employer's family members?

你怎麼看待你和老闆家人的關係?

How, if at all, has your view of looking for an older Taiwanese changed?

Can you describe how this changed your life and the life of your family?

請你陳述一下到台灣工作後 你們家庭生活的變化和改變

Can you give some examples

可以舉例 或分享一些小故事嗎？

What are the positive and negative changes have occurred in your life after working in a Taiwanese home as a carer?

請你陳訴在台灣工作後 你生活中有那些正面及負面的改變

Can you describe how manage the relationship with the Taiwanese employer and their family members at home?

你怎樣看待和因應面對你和台灣雇主家人的關係？

Who has been the most helpful to you during this time? How has he /she been help?

在適應有外籍看護的生活過程中 誰對你提供最大的幫助？ 他如何幫助你？

Can you describe the most important lessons you have learned about your experience of working in Taiwan and looking after older people in private homes?

請你分享在台灣照顧老人的過程中 你覺得你學到最重要的經驗是什麼？

After having the experiences, what advice would you give to someone who has just faced the situation you had?

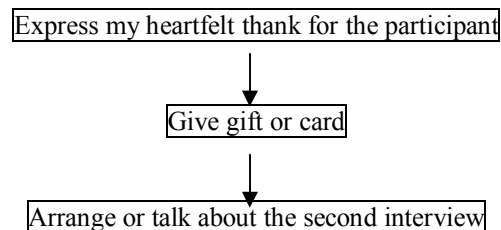
在你獲得這些經驗後 你想給那些和你有同處境的人 什麼建議？

Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?

在你參加這次的訪談前 有那些事 是你從來沒想過的？

Is there anything you would like to ask me?

在結束前 有沒有那些事 是你想要跟我分享的？



Appendix C: *In-depth interview with 19 family employer participants:*

	Interview duration/ minutes	Participant	Age/ Participant	Relationship with care receiver	Age/ care receiver	Nationality/ Carer	Contract of carer
1	120	Daughter in law	50	Mother in law	90	Indonesian	Third
2	95	Daughter	36	Mother	65	Indonesian	Third
3	95	Daughter	40	Father	72	Indonesian	6 th
4	75	Daughter in law	55	Mother in law,	80	Indonesian	4 th
5	75	Son	72	Mother,	92	Vietnamese	First
6	85	Daughter in law	65	Mother in law	85	Indonesian	Second
7	50	Daughter in law	42	Mother in law	70	Indonesian	First
8	60	Daughter in law	38	Mother in law	80	Indonesian	Third
9	105	Spouse (Wife)	70	Spouse (Husband)	72	Indonesian	Second
10	50	Son	72	Mother	93	Indonesian	Third
11	100	Daughter in law	41	Mother in law	75	Indonesian	First
12	120	Son	60	Parents	88	Indonesian	Third
13	55	Spouse (Husband)	80	Spouse (Wife)	79	Indonesian	Second
14	75	Daughter in law	42	Mother in law	75	Filipina	Second
15	65	Son	65	Mother	88	Indonesian	Third
16	200	Daughter in law	45	Mother in law	75	Indonesian	First
17	80	Daughter in law	65	Mother in law	88	Indonesian	Third
18	80	Son	42	Parents	85	Indonesian	Second
19	90	Daughter	50	Parents	80	Vietnamese	Third
Total	19 Times						

Appendix D: *In-depth interview with 15 older persons receiving care participants*

	Interviews		Living with	Age	Nationality of foreign carer	Health condition
	times	minutes				
1	1	60	Foreign carer	85	First Vietnamese carer Over 2 years	Parkinson Disease
2	1	55	Foreign carer	90	First Indonesian carer Over 5 years	Problem of version
3	1	40	Foreign carer	86	First Indonesian carer Over 2 years	Problem of walking, H/T, DOA
4	2	30	Foreign carer	86	First Indonesian carer One years	Problem of walking Lung disease, Asthma
		40				
5	1	40	Foreign carer, husband	86	First Indonesian carer Over one years	Problem of walking
6	1	60	Foreign carer,	83	5 Indonesians carers 5 th Indonesian :2 years	Problem of version
7	1	40	Foreign carer, son and wife	76	First Indonesian carer Over 2 years	Stroke, DM Problem of walking
8	1	40	Foreign carer, son and husband,	74	First Indonesian carer Over 2 years	Stroke, DM Problem of walking
9	1	45	Foreign carer, husband	80	First Indonesian carer Over 2 years	Stroke Problem of walking
10	1	75	Foreign cares, daughter	84	First Vietnamese carer Over one years	Problem of walking
11	1	55	foreign carer, husband, son, daughter in law, granddaughter	82	First Indonesian carer Nearly 3 years	Parkinson disease Problem of walking
12	1	35	Foreign carer, son	86	2 Indonesian carers 2th Indonesian: 6months	Problem of walking Stroke , H/T, Heart disease
13	1	50	Foreign carer, husband	89	First Indonesian carer 8 months	Osteoporosis and Problem of walking
14	1	30	Foreign carer, husband	86	First Indonesian carer Nearly 3 years	Stroke Husband's Stroke
15	1	60	Foreign carer, husband	84	First Indonesian carer Over one years	Problem of walking
Total	16 Times					

Appendix E: *In-depth interview with 13 foreign carer participants*

Foreign carers	Interviews		Nationality	Age	Marriage	Children	Overseas working experiences
	Times	Duration/ minutes					
1	2	40	Vietnam	40	Married	1	Taiwan (6 years)
		70					
2	1	50	Indonesia	28	Married	1	Hong Kong (2.5 years) Taiwan (5 years)
3	2	40	Indonesia	40	Divorced	3	Taiwan (12 years)
		70					
4	1	80	Indonesia	40	Divorced	2	Saudi Arabia 10 years ; Brunei 1.5 years; Taiwan (5 years)
5	1	70	Indonesia	28	Married	2	Singapore (4 years) ; Taiwan (3 years)
6	2	40	Indonesia	32	Married	1	Taiwan (9 years)
		60					
7	1	70	Indonesia	29	Divorced	1	Saudi Arabia (2 years); Taiwan (4 years)
8	2	45	Indonesia	38	Divorced	2	Singapore (3years) ; Taiwan (4 years) Hong Kong (2 years) ; Taiwan (2 years)
		40					
9	1	40	Indonesia	25	Single	0	Malaysia (2 years) ; Taiwan (5 years)
10	1	35	Indonesia	27	Married	0	Singapore (2 years) ; Hong Kong (2 years) ; Taiwan (2 years),
11	2	50	Indonesia	35	Married	2	Saudi Arabia (over10years) ; Taiwan (5years)
12	2	30	Indonesia	32	Divorced	4	Taiwan (4 years)
		40					
13	1	90	Vietnam	47	Married	2	Taiwan (8 years)
Total	19 Times						

同意函 (Study Consent Form)

嘉義縣衛生局 大林鎮衛生所 同意

澳洲昆士蘭科技大學護理研究生陳育嫻與本所合作進行其論文研究。本所願意轉介有意願之老年病患家屬，以協助其進行論文資料收集。研究題目為「台灣地區雇用外籍看護工以照護家中老年親屬之經驗」。研究訪談對象為雇用外籍看護工以照顧家中老年病人之屋主，與老年病人的關係為其配偶、兒子、女兒、媳婦或女婿。


Yu-Hsien Chen, a research student of Queensland University of Technology (QUT) in Australia, has been granted the approval to conduct her dissertation from Dalin Township Public Health Center. The research is entitled "The family employment of foreign nurse aides in the care of the elderly in Taiwan"

The opportunity will be provided for Yu-Hsien Chen to collect her research data via our help. Taiwanese who hire foreign nurse aides to look after their elderly relatives will be introduced from our home care unit to Yu-Hsien Chen.

嘉義縣衛生局 大林衛生所主任

**Director of Dalin Township Public Health Center, Public Health
Bureau Chiayi County**

簽名 /Signature:

 / Sheng-Ten Wang

3 / 27 / 2009

研究同意函

Study Consent Form Meishan Township Public Health Center, Chiayi County
(嘉義縣梅山鄉衛生所)同意

澳洲昆士蘭科技大學護理研究生陳育嫻，與本衛生所合作進行其論文研究，本所願意轉介有意願之老年病人家屬，以協助其進行論文資料收集。研究題目為「台灣地區雇用外籍看護工以照護家中老年父母之經驗」。研究訪談對象為雇用外籍看護工以照顧家中老年病人之雇主，與老年病人的關係為其配偶、兒子、女兒、媳婦或女婿。

To Whom It May Concern:

Yu-Hsien Chen, a research student at Queensland University of Technology (QUT) in Australia, has been granted the approval to conduct her dissertation from Meishan Township Public Health Center. The research is entitled "The family employment of foreign nurse aides in the care of the elderly in Taiwan" Taiwanese who hire foreign nurse aides to care for their elderly relatives will be interviewed as a part of research process. The participants will be introduced from the home care unit of Meishan Township Public Health Center to Yu-Hsien Chen

Director of Meishan Township Public Health Center

簽名 /Signature: 張怡維

19 / 03 / 2009



University Human Research Ethics Committee
HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE
NHMRC Registered Committee Number EC00171

Date of Issue: 12/5/09 (supersedes all previously issued certificates)

Dear Miss Yu-Hsien Chen

A UHREC should clearly communicate its decisions about a research proposal to the researcher and the final decision to approve or reject a proposal should be communicated to the researcher in writing. This Approval Certificate serves as your written notice that the proposal has met the requirements of the *National Statement on Research Involving Human Participation* and has been approved on that basis. You are therefore authorised to commence activities as outlined in your proposal application, subject to any specific and standard conditions detailed in this document.

Within this Approval Certificate are:

- * Project Details
- * Participant Details
- * Conditions of Approval (Specific and Standard)

Researchers should report to the UHREC, via the Research Ethics Coordinator, events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project, including, but not limited to:

- (a) serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants; and
- (b) proposed significant changes in the conduct, the participant profile or the risks of the proposed research.

Further information regarding your ongoing obligations regarding human based research can be found via the Research Ethics website <http://www.research.qut.edu.au/ethics/> or by contacting the Research Ethics Coordinator on 07 3138 2091 or ethicscontact@qut.edu.au

If any details within this Approval Certificate are incorrect please advise the Research Ethics Unit within 10 days of receipt of this certificate.

Project Details

Category of Approval: Human non-HREC
Approved From: 7/05/2009 Approved Until: 12/05/2012 (subject to annual reports)
Approval Number: 0900000390
Project Title: The family employment of foreign nurse aides as carers for the elderly in Taiwan: an interpretive study
Chief Investigator: Miss Yu-Hsien Chen
Other Staff/Students: Ms Carol Windsor
Experiment Summary:
Explore the experience of Taiwanese families who have employed foreign nursing aides to care for their elderly family members at home.

Participant Details

Participants:
Approximately 40
Location/s of the Work:
Taiwan - Far Eastern Memorial Hospital; Dalin and Meishan Township Public Health Centres

Conditions of Approval

Specific Conditions of Approval:



University Human Research Ethics Committee
HUMAN ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE
NHMRC Registered Committee Number EC00171

Date of Issue: 12/5/09 (supersedes all previously issued certificates)

No special conditions placed on approval by the UHREC. Standard conditions apply.

Standard Conditions of Approval:

The University's standard conditions of approval require the research team to:

1. Conduct the project in accordance with University policy, NHMRC / AVCC guidelines and regulations, and the provisions of any relevant State / Territory or Commonwealth regulations or legislation;
2. Respond to the requests and instructions of the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC);
3. Advise the Research Ethics Coordinator immediately if any complaints are made, or expressions of concern are raised, in relation to the project;
4. Suspend or modify the project if the risks to participants are found to be disproportionate to the benefits, and immediately advise the Research Ethics Coordinator of this action;
5. Stop any involvement of any participant if continuation of the research may be harmful to that person, and immediately advise the Research Ethics Coordinator of this action;
6. Advise the Research Ethics Coordinator of any unforeseen development or events that might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project;
7. Report on the progress of the approved project at least annually, or at intervals determined by the Committee;
8. (Where the research is publicly or privately funded) publish the results of the project in such a way to permit scrutiny and contribute to public knowledge; and
9. Ensure that the results of the research are made available to the participants.

Modifying your Ethical Clearance:

Requests for variations must be made via submission of a Request for Variation to Existing Clearance Form (<http://www.research.qut.edu.au/ethics/forms/hum/var/var.jsp>) to the Research Ethics Coordinator. Minor changes will be assessed on a case by case basis.

It generally takes 7-14 days to process and notify the Chief Investigator of the outcome of a request for a variation.

Major changes, depending upon the nature of your request, may require submission of a new application.

Audits:

All active ethical clearances are subject to random audit by the UHREC, which will include the review of the signed consent forms for participants, whether any modifications / variations to the project have been approved, and the data storage arrangements.

End of Document

QUT	PARTICIPANT INFORMATION for QUT RESEARCH PROJECT
The family employment of foreign carers for older people in Taiwan	
Research Team Contacts	
Research student : Yu-Hsien Chen 61-7-31388738 yuhsien.chen@student.qut.edu.au	Lecture: Carol Windsor 61-7-31383837 c.windsor@qut.edu.au

Description

This project is being undertaken by a PhD student, Yu-Hsien Chen, at the Queensland University of Technology in Australia. The contact details of the research team are listed above.

The purpose of this project is to explore the experience of Taiwanese families who have employed foreign carers for their elderly at home. The aims of this research are to:

- Explore the meanings for Taiwanese families of living with an elderly family member.
- Analyse the process whereby families come to employ foreign carers to provide care at homes.
- Explore the meanings for older Taiwanese who have been cared by foreign carers.
- Understand the social processes that construct the experience of employing foreign carers to care for elderly Taiwanese at home.
- Develop theoretical concepts from this research.

The research team requests your assistance because you have experience of been cared by foreign carers. Your experiences and point of views may contribute to the understanding of this social phenomenon in Taiwan.

Participation

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Your decision to participate will in no way impact upon your current or future relationship with QUT, the Far Eastern Memorial Hospital or the Dalin or Meishan Township Public Health Centres. However, you can withdraw from participation at any time during the project without comment or penalty.

The interviewer is Yu-Hsien Chen who is a registered nurse in Taiwan and a PhD student at the Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia. Your participation will involve an interview or a focus group which will be audio recorded. The length of this interview or focus group will be approximately 50-80 minutes. A second interview may be undertaken with your permission if ongoing data analysis indicates the need for clarification and further exploration.

Expected benefits

The research findings may be valuable for policy-makers, health professionals and individuals to facilitate a better understanding of the experiences of hiring foreign carers for their elderly relatives and been cared by foreign carers.

Risks

There are no risks beyond normal day-to-day living associated with your participation in this project.

The researcher is qualified to undertake interviews and provide counselling. She has over 5 years working experience as a nurse and nurse manager in an acute psychiatric ward. However, if you feel discomfort during the interview, the interview process will be stopped. The researcher is willing to provide her help to discuss your difficulties. You can withdraw from participation at any time. If you need further help by other health

professionals, the referral for the Psychiatry Department of Tzu Chi Dalin General Hospital or Far Eastern Memorial Hospital will be undertaken by the researcher.

Confidentiality

All comments and responses are anonymous. Discussions and seminars related to this research will be carried out in the future. Audio recording will be undertaken to get the complete data from the interviews. Your permission is required before commencing this interview.

Consent to Participate

We would like to ask you to sign a written consent form (enclosed) to confirm your agreement to participate

Questions / further information about the project

Please contact the researcher team members named above to have any questions answered or if you require further information about the project.

Concerns / complaints regarding the conduct of the project

QUT is committed to researcher integrity and the ethical conduct of research projects. However, if you do have any concerns or complaints about the ethical conduct of the project you may contact the QUT Research Ethics Officer on 3138 2340 or ethicscontact@qut.edu.au. The Research Ethics Officer is not connected with the research project and can facilitate a resolution to your concern in an impartial manner.

參與研究說明書 (PARTICIPANT INFORMATION for QUT RESEARCH PROJECT)

您好：

本人 陳育嫻 是澳洲昆士蘭科技大學的護理研究生，目前著手研究的論文主題為

“台灣地區雇用外籍看護工以照顧家中老年親屬之經驗”

訪談的對象：

雇用外籍看護工以協助照顧老年親屬之台灣家庭中之：

1. 受照顧之老年人；或
2. 受照顧老年親屬的配偶、子女、媳婦或女婿。

訪談的目的地：

為了了解現存的台灣社會現象，也期待能幫助有雇用外籍看護工需求的人。

訪談說明：

1. 在此研究，我會請您回顧您的生活經驗與故事，對您不會造成不良影響，您可以選擇您要分享的故事片段。
2. 訪談的過程會全程錄音，以彌補筆記的不足。
3. 訪談的過程中，若您有覺得不舒服或任何壓力，您可以隨時停止訪談的進行；也可以隨時退出研究，不需要有任何的勉強或壓力。
4. 研究中您所有的資料與訪談內容都將全部被保密，採用匿名及代號以進行資料的分析，存取資料的電腦也都有密碼保護，僅有主要研究者可以接觸到相關資料。日後在研究結果的發表文章中，對於資料中的人物、時間、地點的陳述，也都採用匿名及代號的方式加以陳現。
5. 本研究需要嚴格遵守昆士蘭科技大學倫理委員會及指導教授的規定與要求，除了研究者本身外，不會有第三者知道研究內容，這是對您的保護與尊重。

您的生活故事與經驗將幫助我們了解這個領域中的相關現象與知識，也可以提供給更多與您有相同遭遇及需要的人。希望您參與本研究，也感謝您的協助與支持。

敬祝您 一切順心 平安快樂

昆士蘭科技大學護理研究生 陳育嫻

電話:0928459479 Email: yhsien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

參與研究同意書

研究主題：台灣地區雇用外籍看護工以照護家中老年親屬之經驗
本人同意參與昆士蘭科技大學護理研究生 陳育嫻 所進行之
“台灣地區雇用外籍看護工以照護家中老年親屬之經驗”研究，
我在此同意書簽名，表示已經了解以下內容：

1. 已閱讀並瞭解研究內容、目的及參與研究的過程；
2. 參與本研究並不會對參與者有不良的影響；
3. 訪談的過程都會錄音；
4. 研究者會將個人及其相關資料保密，僅提供研究分析參考不做他用；
5. 參與者有權利隨時中止或退出研究，其決定對其個人不會造成任何影響；
6. 若有任何與研究相關問題，可直接與陳育嫻（電話：0928459479）連繫 或與昆士蘭科技大學研究倫理委員會相關人員連繫，

倫理委員會郵件地址：ethicscontact@qut.edu.au

參與者：_____ 同意參與本研究

時間：_____ / _____ / _____

主要研究者： Ms Yu-Hsien Chen (陳育嫻) 電話: 0928459479 (Taiwan) Email: yuhsien.chen@student.qut.edu.au	指導教授： Ms Carol Windsor 電話: 002-61-7-3138 3837(澳洲) Email: c.windsor@qut.edu.au	指導教授： Dr Alan Barnard 電話: 002-61-7-3138 3893 (澳洲) Email: a.barnard@qut.edu.au
--	---	---



Informasi Untuk Partisipan Pada Penelitian QUT

Judul penelitian: Keluarga yang mempekerjakan Pengasuh asing (dari luar Taiwan) untuk orang lanjut usia di Taiwan

Tim Penelitian yang dapat di hubungi

Mahasiswa: Yu-Hsien Chen
0928459479; +617-31388738
yuh sien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Supervisor: Carol Windsor
+617-31383837
c.windsor@qut.edu.au

Penjelasan Penelitian

Penelitian ini dilakukan oleh Yu-Hsien, mahasiswa PhD (Doctoral) di Queensland University of Technology (QUT) Australia. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui pengalaman keluarga Taiwan yang mempekerjakan orang dari luar Taiwan sebagai pengasuh para usia lanjut (orang tua) di rumah.

Tujuan khusus dari penelitian ini adalah:

- Mengetahui pemahaman pengasuh asing (dari luar Taiwan) tentang pemberian asuhan atau menjaga para lanjut usia (orang tua) Taiwan dan tinggal dengan orang Taiwan di rumahnya.
- Menganalisa proses bagaimana pengasuh asing (dari luar Taiwan) datang untuk bekerja sebagai pengasuh di Taiwan

Tim penelitian meminta bantuan anda karena anda memiliki pengalaman dalam mengasuh atau menjaga orang lanjut usia (orang tua) Taiwan dan tinggal di Taiwan. Pengalaman, pendapat dan kesediaan anda dapat membantu untuk memahami fenomena sosial ini.

Partisipasi

Partisipasi anda pada penelitian ini adalah sukarela. Keputusan anda untuk berpartisipasi tidak akan berpengaruh terhadap hubungan anda saat ini maupun dimasa datang dengan keluarga majikan anda. Anda dapat mengundurkan diri dari penelitian ini kapan saja tanpa pemberitahuan atau hukuman. Anda akan diwawancarai oleh Yu-Hsien Chen, dia adalah register nurse (perawat bersertifikat) di Taiwan dan dia juga mahasiswa PhD (Doctoral) di Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, Australia.

Proses wawancara akan akan di rekam .

Wawancara akan berlangsung kurang lebih 30 sampai 60 menit.

Akan dilakukan wawancara kedua (tambahan) apabila masih diperlukan pemahaman lebih jauh.

Manfaat Penelitian

Hasil penelitian ini akan bermanfaat bagi para pembuat keputusan, petugas kesehatan dan perorangan untuk membantu pemahaman yang lebih baik dalam hal mempekerjakan pengasuh asing (dari luar Taiwan) untuk mengasuh (menjaga) para lanjut usia (orang tua) Taiwan.

Risiko

Tidak ada resiko yang luar biasa terkait dengan partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini.

Namun demikian, apabila selama wawancara anda merasa tidak nyaman atau stres, wawancara akan di hentikan.

Anda dapat mengundurkan diri kapan saja.

Apabila anda membutuhkan bantuan lebih jauh dari petugas kesehatan, rujukan ke dokter akan diberikan oleh peneliti.

Confidentiality (Kerahasiaan)

Seluruh jawaban dan komentar anda tanpa diberi nama. Hanya peneli saja yang mengetahui identitas anda. Nama anda dan informasi yang dapat membuka identitas anda tidak akan tampak di laporan akhir akhir atau dalam publikasi hasil.

Untuk mendapatkan data yang lengkap maka wawancara akan direkam. Sebelum mulai wawancara diperlukan izin dari anda.

Consent (kesediaan berpartisipasi)

Kami meminta anda untuk menandatangani surat persetujuan untuk memastikan bahwa anda bersedia berpartisipasi pada penelitian ini.

Keluhan atau complain

Apa bila anda ada keluhan (komplain) tentang pelaksanaan penelitian, anda dapat menghubungi

kantor penelitian QUT di + 617-31385123 atau email ke: ethicscontact@qut.edu.au.



Formulir Kesediaan mengikuti penelitian untuk penelitian QUT

Tim Penelitian yang dapat di hubungi

Mahasiswa : Yu-Hsien Chen
0928459479; +617-31388738
yuh sien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Supervisor : Carol Windsor
+617-31383837
c.windsor@qut.edu.au

Judul penelitian: Keluarga yang mempekerjakan Pengasuh asing (dari luar Taiwan) untuk orang lanjut usia di Taiwan

Pernyataan Kesediaan mengikuti penelitian

Dengan menanda tangani formulir ini saya menyatakan bahwa, saya:

- Telah membaca dokumen informasi dan mengerti tentang penelitian ini.
- Telah menerima jawaban yang memuaskan tentang pertanyaan yang saya tanyakan
- Mengerti bahwa jika ada pertanyaan lain (tambahan) saya bisa menghubungi peneliti
- Mengerti bahwa saya bisa mengundurkan diri kapan saja dari penelitian ini tanpa pemberitahuan atau hukuman
- Mengerti bahwa saya dapat menghubungi kantor riset etik di +61731382340 atau melalui email: ethicscontact@qut.edu.au jika ada keluhan atau ada sesuatu yang saya perlukan
- Mengerti bahwa informasi yang saya berikan akan direkam
- Bersedia untuk berpartisipasi dalam penelitian.

Nama :

Tanda tangan :

Tanggal : / /



Thông tin dành cho người tham sự đề án nghiên cứu của QUT

Việc thuê người nước ngoài chăm sóc người lớn tuổi ở Đài Loan

Địa chỉ liên lạc

Nghiên cứu sinh: Yu-Hsien Chen
0928459479; +617-31388738
yuh sien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Giáo sư: Carol Windsor
+617-31383837
c.windsor@qut.edu.au

Mô tả

Đề án này được thực hiện bởi nghiên cứu sinh Yu-Hsien Chen, nghiên cứu sinh tại Đại học Kỹ thuật Queensland, Úc. Địa chỉ liên hệ của nhóm nghiên cứu như đã nêu ở trên.

Mục tiêu của đề án này là tìm hiểu những trải nghiệm của gia đình có thuê người nước ngoài chăm sóc người lớn tuổi trong gia đình ở Đài Loan. Mục đích của nghiên cứu là:

- Tìm hiểu ý nghĩa của việc thuê người nước ngoài chăm sóc cho người lớn tuổi ở Đài Loan trong các hộ gia đình
- Phân tích quy trình để người nước ngoài đến và làm người chăm sóc ở Đài Loan.
- Hiểu quy trình xã hội tạo nên những trải nghiệm làm người chăm sóc ở Đài Loan

Nhóm nghiên cứu mong được sự hỗ trợ của ông bà vì ông bà là người có kinh nghiệm chăm sóc cho người lớn tuổi ở Đài Loan. Những trải nghiệm và quan điểm sống của ông bà sẽ giúp chúng tôi hiểu được vấn đề xã hội này.

Sự tham gia

Sự tham gia của ông bà là tự nguyện

Quyết định tham gia này không ảnh hưởng gì đến mối qua hệ của ông bà và gia đình thuê ông bà làm việc

Ông bà có thể rút khỏi nghiên cứu mà không bị bất cứ sự phê phán hay phạt đền gì

Người phỏng vấn là Yu – Hsien Chen, điều dưỡng ở Đài Loan, hiện là nghiên cứu sinh của Đại học Kỹ thuật Queensland, Úc.

Ông bà sẽ trả lời phỏng vấn và cuộc phỏng vấn này được ghi âm

Phỏng vấn kéo dài từ 30 – 60 phút

Có thể sẽ có cuộc phỏng vấn thứ 2 nếu cần tìm hiểu rõ hơn dữ liệu đã thu thập

Lợi ích

Kết quả nghiên cứu sẽ giúp ích cho nhà chức trách, nhân viên y tế và các cá nhân muốn hiểu hơn về việc thuê người nước ngoài chăm sóc cho người thân lớn tuổi hay những người đang được người nước ngoài chăm sóc

Nguy cơ

Cuộc sống hằng ngày của ông bà sẽ không bị ảnh hưởng vì việc tham gia vào nghiên cứu này

Tuy nhiên nếu ông bà thấy không thoải mái hay buồn tẻ trong suốt thời gian phỏng vấn, phỏng vấn sẽ được ngưng.

Ông bà ngừng tham gia bất cứ lúc nào

Nếu ông bà cần cần nhân viên y tế giúp đỡ, người nghiên cứu có thể chuyển ông bà đến bác sĩ

Bảo mật

Nội dung trả lời sẽ không định danh

Chỉ có người nghiên cứu mới biết thông tin xác định đối tượng tham dự

Tên và thông tin cá nhân của anh chị sẽ không bị nêu lên trong phần công bố kết quả

Cuộc phỏng vấn sẽ được ghi âm để có dữ liệu đầy đủ khi nghiên cứu. Việc ghi âm này cần được sự cho phép của ông bà trước khi thực hiện

Đồng ý tham gia

Chúng tôi cần ông bà ký tên vào phiếu đồng ý tham dự vào nghiên cứu

Thông tin liên quan đến đề án

Nếu ông bà quan tâm hay muốn góp ý gì về vấn đề đạo đức của dự án, ông bà có thể liên hệ nhân viên phòng đạo đức nghiên cứu của QUT tại +617-3138 5123 or ethicscontact@qut.edu.au.

Chào bạn

Tôi tên Trần Dục Nhân (Yu-Hsien Chen) là sinh viên tiến sĩ hộ lý của trường Đại Học Khoa Học Kỹ Thuật Queensland (Queensland University of Technology) , trước mắt bắt tay vào việc nghiên cứu luận văn chủ đề là “Khu vực đất Đài Loan thuê dùng Hộ Lý chăm sóc ngoại tịch có kinh nghiệm để chăm sóc người thân lớn tuổi trong nhà ”

Đối tượng phỏng đàm :

Hộ Lý chăm sóc quốc tịch Việt Nam hoặc Indonesia được thuê dùng ở Đài Loan để chăm sóc người thân lớn tuổi trong gia đình :

Mục đích phỏng đàm :

Vì muốn càng hiểu rõ hiện tượng xã hội Đài Loan hiện nay ,hy vọng có thể hiểu được người Hộ Lý chăm sóc ngoại tịch và yêu cầu của chủ Đài Loan thuê dùng .

phỏng đàm nói rõ :

- 1/Ở nghiên cứu này tôi sẽ mời bạn hồi cố lại câu chuyện và kinh nghiệm cuộc sống , đối với bạn sẽ không tạo thành ảnh hưởng không tốt , bạn có thể lựa chọn câu chuyện mà bạn cần chia sẻ.
- 2/Trong quá trình phỏng đàm sẽ ghi âm toàn bộ , để bù đắp cho sự ghi chép không đủ ..
- 3/Trong quá trình phỏng đàm , nếu bạn thấy không được thoải mái hoặc bất cứ áp lực nào , bạn có thể ngừng cuộc phỏng đàm bất cứ lúc nào ; và cũng có thể rút lui ra khỏi cuộc nghiên cứu bất cứ lúc nào , không cần có bất cứ miễn cưỡng hoặc áp lực nào .
- 4/Trong lúc nghiên cứu tất cả những tư liệu và nội dung của cuộc phỏng đàm hoàn toàn được giữ bí mật , chọn lựa dấu tên và lấy số đại diện tiến hành phân tích tư liệu , máy vi tính tồn trữ tư liệu đều được giữ bằng mật mã , chỉ có người nghiên cứu mới có thể tiếp xúc .Sau này kết quả của cuộc nghiên cứu được phát biểu trong bài văn , đối với nhân vật trong tư liệu , thời gian , địa điểm , cũng đều chọn lựa dấu tên và lấy số làm phương thức đại diện để kể ra thêm .
- 5/Bản nghiên cứu này cần nghiêm khắc tuân thủ quy định và yêu cầu của hội ủy viên luận lý trường Đại Học Khoa Học Kỹ Thuật Queensland và giáo sư chỉ đạo , ngoài bản thân người nghiên cứu ra , sẽ không có người thứ ba biết được nội dung nghiên cứu , đây chính là sự bảo hộ và tôn trọng đối với bạn

Câu chuyện cuộc sống và kinh nghiệm của bạn sẽ giúp chúng tôi hiểu được những hiện tượng liên quan và tri thức trong cái lĩnh vực này , và cung cấp càng nhiều cho những người gặp phải tình trạng tương đồng như bạn và cần thiết . Hy vọng bạn tham dự vào cuộc nghiên cứu này , cảm ơn sự giúp đỡ và ủng hộ của bạn

Kính chúc bạn mọi sự vừa ý bình an vui vẻ

Trần Dục Nhân Sinh viên Hộ Lý nghiên cứu trường Đại Học Khoa
Học Kỹ Thuật Queensland
Điện thoại:0928459479
Email: yhsien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Địa chỉ liên lạc

Nghiên cứu sinh: Yu-Hsien Chen
0928459479; +617-31388738
yuh sien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Nghiên cứu sinh: Yu-Hsien Chen
0928459479; +617-31388738
yuh sien.chen@student.qut.edu.au

Việc thuê người nước ngoài chăm sóc người lớn tuổi ở Đài Loan

Nội dung của sự đồng ý

Khi ký vào bản này nghĩa là ông bà

- Đã đọc, hiểu nội dung liên quan đến đề án này
- Những thắc mắc của ông bà đã được trả lời thỏa đáng
- Hiểu rằng nếu ông bà có câu hỏi gì thêm, ông bà có thể liên hệ với nhóm nghiên cứu
- Hiểu rằng ông bà có thể từ bỏ việc tham gia nghiên cứu bất cứ lúc nào mà không bị phê phán hay phạt đền gì
- Hiểu rằng ông bà có thể liên hệ nhân viên phòng đạo đức nghiên cứu của QUT tại +617-3138 5123 hoặc ethicscontact@qut.edu.au nếu ông bà quan tâm hay muốn góp ý gì về vấn đề đạo đức của dự án
- Hiểu rằng dự án này được ghi âm
- **ĐỒNG Ý THAM GIA TRONG ĐỀ ÁN NÀY**

Tên

Ký tên

Ngày / /